

A
Compleat History
OF
EUROPE:
OR, A

VIEW of the AFFAIRS thereof,
CIVIL and MILITARY,
FROM THE
Year, 1600, to the Treaty of *Nimeguen*,
to Perfect the Last CENTURY.

CONTAINING

All the Publick and Secret TRANSACTIONS
therein; The Rise and Progress of our CIVIL WAR;
The Wars and Revolutions of *France, Germany,*
Sweden, Poland, Hungary, Portugal, &c.

Intermix'd with

Great Variety of Original PAPERS, LETTERS,
MEMOIRS, TREATIES, &c. Several of which
are not to be met with elsewhere.

THE

Whole illustrated with the REMARKABLES
of the Years; and the LIVES and CHARACTERS
of the Great Men of that Age. Taken from *Thuanus,*
Nani, Puffendorf, Mezerai, Whitlock, Sir P. Warwick,
Dr. Welwood, E. of Clarendon, and Others the most
Approved HISTORIANS.

The Third VOLUME.

L O N D O N :

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may be had the History of Europe, from the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; and
those for 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705. To be continued Annually.

W. Musgrave.



THE

PREFACE.

WE have at last, with these Two Volumes, which come down to the Treaty of Nimeguen, perfected the History of Europe for the Seventeenth Century; the Circumstances of Things were such, that we began at the wrong End; I mean, that the first Volume that came out commenced with the Treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, and ended with that of Reswick in 1697, but the kind Reception it met with in the World, as appears by the several Editions it has born, (the Fourth of which was lately Publish'd) gave us an Opportunity to continue it down to the End of the Century, to the beginning of which we afterwards recurrd.

It will be unnecessary to say any thing here concerning the Two first Volumes, which were published about a Year ago, and which end with 1642; a very fatal Year to poor England, by the cruel Civil War that then broke out between the King and his Parliament, at last to the undoing of both, and almost to the total Ruin of the Nation; of which the Reader will meet with

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a very ample and particular Relation in these Two new Volumes, till the re-settling of the Government upon its Ancient Basis, by the Restoration of King Charles II. in 1660; with what succeeded since of momentous Consideration to 1676, where they terminate, and that from the Treaty of Nimeguen begins as aforesaid.

We told you in our Preface to the preceding Volumes, that one of the principal Imbellishments of the Work, and wherein more than ordinary Application and Industry had been used, were the Characters of very many great Men of several Nations and Families: We also mention'd the Authorities we went upon, and how we confronted them; we are now to add, that the Characters, and our Domestick ones especially, are much more numerous, have far greater variety of Turns and Representations than those that went before, to which the unhappy War and various Mutations of Government, how oppressive soever to the Nation, did not a little contribute; new Scenes frequently arising, and a new Set of Actors as often coming upon the Stage, among whom those called Lords of Oliver's Creation are not, some Circumstances considered, the least remarkable, tho' done by an Anonymous Author.

It's incredible what Numbers of Pamphlets flew about in those Days. It would be Presumption in any one, tho' never so inquisitive and fitted with Opportunities, to pretend to have seen and perused all, or perhaps one Moiety of them. However, we may, without incurring
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the Censure of being over-assuming, affirm that few of the most considerable ones, and such as are essential to History, have escaped us; and as we were furnished with more Materials for this Part of the Undertaking, it will be found to be more useful, diverting and instructive.

It must be acknowledged, that as the Affairs of England, Scotland and Ireland, were by reason of the Civil War and other unaccountable Revolutions, the most considerable of any in Europe, almost throughout the whole Series of Years these Volumes comprehend, so we have dwelt much more largely upon them, which yet cannot be the less pleasing to the English Reader, since tis the Nature of Mankind, as well as their Interest, to be more particularly solicitous and inquisitive about their own than other Peoples Concerns. However, we have by no means been neglectful of those of our Neighbours, of which take a few short hints in this Place.

The Swedish War in Germany was still on Foot, and prosecuted for the most part with Success, tho' they had the Danes also for some time to cope with; till at length the Peace of Osnabrug in 1648, put a happy Period to that Calamity that had for so many Years afflicted the Empire: Sweden after this enjoying a tolerable State of Tranquility, till the Resignation of Queen Christina, to Prince Charles Gustavus her Cousin German, in 1654, the Ambition of that Prince and other Reasons of State, soon engaged him in a War with Poland,

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land, which brought the Danes again upon him, and the short-lived Peace of Reschield, did but usher in the memorable Siege of Copenhagen, undertaken by that daring Prince, who dying in 1660, the Peace of Oliva between Sweden and Poland soon ensued: And another with Denmark quickly after, once more; you will find, restored the Tranquility of the North, which happily continued undisturbed, till the War, begun in 1672, brought the Dane to chuse the Side of the Allies, as the Swede did that of France.

The Turkish Wars in Hungary and their other Affairs on that Side were not altogether so considerable, either for Duration or Sharpness, within the Compass of the Years our History extends to, as they afterwards proved to be: However, they are carefully accounted for: But the most memorable Candian War having herein its early Beginning and late, and I may say, fatal Ending to the Republick of Venice, in the loss of the whole Island of Candia; we have rendered it as entertaining as we could, but it's improper here to cite Particulars.

As for the other most considerable Republick in Europe, I mean the States-General of the United Provinces, after so long and brave a Struggle for Liberty, you will find them in 1648, acknowledged for a free State by the Spaniards themselves: By the Imbroilments between them and the Prince of Orange about Two Years after, their great Danger of Ruin is traced out to you: Their quarrelling with the Parliament of England in 1652, the
Naval

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Naval Engagements between the Two Nations, with the glorious Success of the English is what could not be omitted without great Defect: The Peace given them by Oliver, and the long continuance of it for near Twenty Years, (save their first War with the English after the Restoration in 1665, which did not affect them much) made them exceedingly flourish in Trade and Wealth: But at the same time growing negligent of Military Discipline, the imminent Danger of their utter Subversion in 1672, and the Circumstances that saved them, we have pursued to the designed Period.

France makes no inconsiderable Part of this History, for tho' a War with Spain was on Foot upon the Death of Lewis XIII. in 1643. and that the Minority of his Son, the Regency of the Queen, the Ambition of the Princes of the Blood, and the Factions of Ministers, caused many Intestine Broils, its Fortune grew up a pace; the Peace of Munster added much to its Extent and Security on the German Side, and its Acquisitions from Spain in Flanders, Roussillon, &c. were upon the Matter confirmed by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659.

But we shall not anticipate the Reader with any more Particulars of its growing Greatness; but observe that Spain on the other Hand was upon the Decline. It's true, the terminating the long War in the Netherlands against the Dutch, afforded her some Ease in those Parts; but the continuance of it with France, and the Portuguese vigorously adhering to the Revolt begun in 1644, we have endeavoured to shew in
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all the memorable Actions of the War between the Two Nations, till the Peace was concluded after the Death of Philip IV, during the Minority of whose Son Charles II. we have pursued the Thread of our History with one War more, and part of another with France, much to the Detriment of the Crown of Spain.

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A
Compleat History

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EUROPE, &c.

V O L. III.

THE Distractions of poor *England* were 1643.
 so great, and the Tendency of both Parties to continue a Civil War so unaccountable at the End of the preceding Year, that 'tis no wonder you find it carried on in this with all the unnatural Fury and Bitterness that can be imagined; however, there were many considerate and well-meaning Persons, who had still earnest Inclinations, to a Peace, and more particularly divers of the Wealthiest and most Substantial Citizens of *London*, observing Liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houses, and the Multitudes of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from those Multitudes and that Authority, the Brand to have been laid upon the City, of being an Enemy to Peace, met

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together

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together, and prepar'd a very modest and moderate Petition to the Houses; in which they desired *such Propositions and Addresses might be made by Them to his Majesty, as he might with his Honour comply with, and thereby a happy Peace ensue*; which being sign'd by many Thousand Hands, was ready to be presented, but was not receiv'd by the House of Commons, for no other Reason publicly given, but *that it was prepar'd by a Multitude*; and Objections were framed against the Principal Promoters of it, upon Pretences of Delinquency; so that they were compell'd to forsake the Town, and that Party were, for the present, discountenanced.

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Westminster, St. Martins, and Covent-Garden*, who always were esteemed to be well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met the same Baulk, being strictly inhibited to approach the Houses with more than Six in Company. Which kind of proceeding certainly added not much to their Reputation; and they easily discern'd those Humours, thus obstructed, would break out the more violently: However, they again resumed all Professions of a desire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propositions to be sent to the King to that Purpose; and because they found that would be a Work of Time, and that many Arts were to be applied to the several Affections, and to wipe out the Imagination that the City desired Peace upon any other Terms than They did, and the Disadvantage that accru'd to them by such Imagination, they got such a Common-Council chosen for the City, and directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in such a Petition to his Majesty, as, carrying the Sense and Reputation of the whole City, might yet signifie nothing to the Prejudice of the Two Houses; and so a Petition was framed in these Words.

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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To the King's most Excellent Majesty ;

The Humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London,

Sheweth,

THAT the Petitioners, your Majesty's most Humble and Loyal Subjects, being much pierced with the long and great Divisions between your Majesty and Both your Houses of Parliament, and with the Sad and Bloody Effects thereof, both here, and in *Ireland*, are yet more deeply wounded by the Misapprehension, which your Majesty seemeth to entertain of the Love and Loyalty of this your City, as if there were some Cause of Fear, or Suspicion of Danger to your Royal Person if your Majesty should return hither ; and that this is made the unhappy Bar to that Blessed Reconciliation with your Great and most Faithful Council for preventing that Desolation, and Destruction, which is now most apparently Imminent to your Majesty, and all your Kingdoms. For satisfaction therefore of your Majesty, and clearing of the Petitioners Innocency, they most humbly declare, as formerly they have done, That they are no way conscious of any Disloyalty, but abhor all Thoughts thereof ; and that they are resolv'd to make good their late Solemn Protestation, and Sacred Vow, made to Almighty God ; and, with the last Drop of their dearest Bloods, to defend and maintain the True Reform'd Protestant Religion, and, according to the Duty of their Allegiance, your Majesty's Royal Person, Honour, and Estate, (whatever is maliciously and falsely suggested to your Majesty to the contrary) as well as the Power and Privileges of Parliament, and the Lawful Rights and Liberty of the Subject : And do hereby engage Themselves, their Estates, and all they have, to their utmost Power, to defend and preserve your Majesty, and Both Houses of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts, and Violence, with as much Loyalty, Love and Duty, as ever Citizens express'd

*A Petition
of the City
to the King
about a
Peace.*

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‘ towards your Majesty, or any of your Royal Pro-
 ‘ genitors in their greatest Glory. The Petitioners
 ‘ therefore, upon their bended Knees, do most
 ‘ humbly beseech your Majesty to return to your
 ‘ Parliament (accompanied with your Royal, not
 ‘ Martial Attendance) to the end that Religion,
 ‘ Laws and Liberties, may be settled, and what-
 ‘ soever is amiss in Church and Common-wealth
 ‘ reform’d by Their Advice, according to the Con-
 ‘ stitutions of This Kingdom: And that such a
 ‘ Peace may thereby be obtain’d, as shall be for the
 ‘ Glory of God, the Honour and Happiness of your
 ‘ Majesty and Posterity, and Welfare of all your
 ‘ Loyal Subjects; who (the Petitioners are fully
 ‘ assured) whatsoever is given out to the con-
 ‘ trary, do unanimously desire the Peace herein
 ‘ express’d.

Though this Petition was in effect no other than to desire the King to disband his Army, yet so infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to submit to another Subscription for Money and Plate, for the necessary Provisions of Arms, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, until their Disbanding and return Home to their several Counties: That so they might not be occasioned, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the Way homewards, after their Discharge and Dismission. In the mean Time the Petition about the Tenth of *January* being presented to the King at *Oxford* by some Aldermen, and others of the Common-Council, who were for the most part of peaceable Inclinations, the King consider’d Seriously what Answer to return; and in the main was not sorry to have this Opportunity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to the City, being perswaded, that if he enlarged himself in his Answer to this Petition, and expos’d those Men who were most notoriously opposite to the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at least lessen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and so he resolv’d to return an Answer to them in these Words:

• That

‘That his Majesty doth not entertain any Misap-
‘prehension of the Love and Loyalty of his City of ^{1643.}
‘London; as he hath always express’d a Singular Regard *The King’s*
‘and Esteem of the Affections of that City, and is *Answer.*
‘still desirous to make it his Chief Place of Residence,
‘and to continue and renew many Marks of his
‘Favour to it; so he believes much the better and
‘greater Part of that his City is full of Love, Du-
‘ty, and Loyalty to his Majesty; and that the Tu-
‘mults which heretofore forced his Majesty, for his Safe-
‘ty, to leave that Place, though they were contriv’d
‘and encouraged by some Principal Members there-
‘of, (who were since well known, though they are
‘above the reach of Justice) consisted more of de-
‘perate Persons of the Suburbs, and the neighbouring
‘Towns, (who were misled too by the Cunning and
‘Malice of their Seducers) than of the Inhabitants
‘of that City. He looks on his good Subjects
‘there as Persons groaning under the same Burthen
‘which doth oppress his Majesty, and awed by the
‘same Persons who begot those Tumults, and the
‘same Army which gave Battle to his Majesty: And
‘therefore, as no good Subject can more desire,
‘from his Soul, a Composure of the general Dis-
‘tractions; so no good Citizen can more desire the
‘Establishment of the particular Peace and Prospe-
‘rity of that Place, by his Majesty’s Access thither,
‘than his Majesty himself doth.

‘But his Majesty desires his good Subjects of Lon-
‘don seriously to consider what Confidence his
‘Majesty can have of Security there, whilst the Laws
‘of the Land are so notoriously despised, and tram-
‘pled under Foot, and the wholesome Government
‘of that City, heretofore so Famous over all
‘the World, is now submitted to the Arbitrary
‘Power of a few Desperate Persons, of no Reputa-
‘tion, but for Malice and Disloyalty to him; whilst
‘Arms are taken up, not only without, but against
‘Consent, and express Command, and Collections
‘publicly made, and Contributions avow’d, for the
‘Maintenance of the Army which has given him
‘Battle, and therein used all possible Means Trea-
‘son and Malice could suggest to them, to have
‘taken his Life from him, and to have destroyed

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his Royal Issue ; whilst such of his Majesty's Subjects, who, out of Duty and Affection to his Majesty, and Compassion of their Country, have laboured for Peace, are Reviled, Injured, and Murthered even by the Magistrates of that City, or by Their Directions: Lastly, what hopes his Majesty can have of Safety there, whilst Alderman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord-Mayor, the Principal Author of those Calamities which so nearly threaten the Ruin of that Famous City, *Ven*, *Foulke* and *Manwairing*, all Persons notoriously guilty of, Schism and High-Treason, commit such Outrages in Oppressing, Robbing, and Imprisoning, according to their Discretion, all such his Majesty's Loving Subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect for but wishing well to his Majesty.

And his Majesty would know, whether the Petitioners believe, that the Reviling and Suppressing the Book of Common-Prayer, establish'd in this Church ever since the Reformation, the discountenancing and imprisoning Godly, Learned, and Painful Preachers, and the cherishing and countenancing of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and all manner of Sectaries, be the Way to defend and maintain the true Reform'd Protestant Religion? That to comply with, and assist Persons who have actually attempted to Kill his Majesty, and to allow and favour Libels, Pasquils, and Seditious Sermons against his Majesty, be to defend his Royal Person and Honour, according to the Duty of their Allegiance? Whether to Imprison Mens Persons, and to plunder their Houses, because they will not Rebel against his Majesty, nor assist those that do ; whether to destroy their Property by taking away the Twentieth Part of their Estates from them, and by the same Arbitrary Power to refer to Four Standards-by, of their own Faction, to judge what that the Twentieth Part is, be to defend the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject? And if they think these Actions to be Instances of either, whether they do not know the Persons beforenamed to be guilty of them all? Or whether they think it possible that Almighty God can bless that City, and preserve

‘ preserve it from Destruction, whilst Persons of
‘ such known Guilt and Wickedness are defended
‘ and justified among them, against the Power of
‘ that Law, by which they can only subsist.

‘ His Majesty is so far from suffering himself to be
‘ incensed against the whole City, by the Actions of
‘ these ill Men, though they have hitherto been so pre-
‘ valent as to make the Affections of the rest of lit-
‘ tle use to him; and is so willing to be with them,
‘ and to protect them, that the Trade, Wealth, and
‘ Glory thereof, so decayed and eclipsed by these
‘ publick Distractions, may again be the Envy of all
‘ Foreign Nations, that he doth once more graciously
‘ offer his Free and General Pardon to all the Inhabi-
‘ tants of that his City of *London*, the Suburbs and City
‘ of *Westminster* (except the Persons formerly excepted
‘ by his Majesty) if they shall Yet return to their Duty,
‘ and Loyalty, and Obedience. And if his good Subjects
‘ of that his City of *London* shall first solemnly declare,
‘ that they will defend the known Laws of the Land,
‘ and will submit to, and be govern’d by, no other
‘ Rule; if they shall first manifest, by defending
‘ themselves, and maintaining their own Rights, Liber-
‘ ties, and Interests, and suppressing any Force and
‘ Violence unlawfully raised against those and his
‘ Majesty, their power to defend and preserve him
‘ from all Tumults, Affronts and Violence; lastly,
‘ if they shall apprehend and commit to safe Cu-
‘ stody the Persons of those Four Men who enrich
‘ themselves by the Spoil and Oppression of his
‘ Loving Subjects, and the Ruin of the City, that
‘ his Majesty may proceed against them by the
‘ Course of Law, as guilty of High-Treason; his
‘ Majesty will speedily return to them with Royal,
‘ and without Martial Attendance, and will use his
‘ utmost Endeavours that they may hereafter en-
‘ joy all the Blessings of Peace and Plenty; and will
‘ no longer expect Obedience from them than he
‘ shall, with all the Faculties of his Soul, labour in
‘ the preserving and advancing the True Reform’d
‘ Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, the
‘ Liberty and Property of the Subjects, and Just Pri-
‘ vileges of Parliament.

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‘ If, notwithstanding all this, the Art, and Interest of these Men can prevail so far, that they involve more Men in their Guilt, and draw that his City to sacrifice its present Happiness, and future Hopes, to their Pride, Fury and Malice, his Majesty shall only give them this warning; That whosoever shall henceforward take up Arms, without His Consent, contribute any Money or Plate, upon what Pretence of Authority soever, for Maintenance of the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, or any other Army in Rebellion against him, or shall pay Tonnage and Poundage, till the same shall be settled by act of Parliament, every such Person must expect the severest Punishment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean time, his Majesty shall seize upon any Part of his Estate within his Power, for the Relief and Support of Him and his Army, Raised and Maintained for the Defence of his Person, the Laws, and this his Kingdom: And since he denies to his Majesty the Duty and Benefit of his Subjection, by giving Assistance to Rebels, which, by the known Laws of the Land, is High-Treason; his Majesty shall likewise deny Him the Benefit of his Protection, and shall not only signify to all his Foreign Ministers, that such Person shall receive no Advantage by being his Subject, but shall, by other Ways and Means, proceed against him as a publick Enemy to his Majesty and Kingdom.

‘ Yet his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London* will call to mind the Acts of their Predecessors, the Duty, Affection, Loyalty and Merit towards their Princes, the Renown they have had with all Posterity for, and the Blessing of Heaven which always accompanied those Virtues; and will consider the Perpetual Scorn and Infamy which unavoidably will follow Them and their Children, if infinitely the meaner Part in Quality, and much the lesser Part in Number, shall be able to alter the Government so admirably establish’d, destroy the Trade so excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so industriously gotten, of that flourishing City: And they will easily gather up the Courage and Resolution to join
‘ with

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‘with his Majesty in defence of that Religion, Law
‘and Liberty, which hitherto hath, and only can,
‘make Themselves, his Majesty, and his Kingdom
‘happy.

‘For concurring with the Advice of his Two
‘Houses of Parliament, which, with reference to the
‘Commonwealth, may be as well at this distance, as
‘by being at *White-Hall*, his Majesty doubts not
‘but his good Subjects of *London* we ll know how
‘far, beyond the Example of his Predecessors, his
‘Majesty hath concurr’d with their Advice, in passing
‘of such Laws, by which he willingly parted with
‘many of his known Rights, for the Benefit of his
‘Subjects; which the Fundamental Constitutions
‘of this Kingdom did not oblige him to consent
‘unto; and hath used all possible Means to beget
‘a Right Understanding between them: And will
‘therefore apply themselves to those who by making
‘Just, Peaceable, and Honourable Propositions to
‘his Majesty, can only beget that Concur-
‘rence.

This Answer the King sent by a Servant of his
own, supposing that if he sent it by the Messengers
who brought the Petition, it might either be sup-
press’d, or not communicated in that Manner as he
desired. Besides, the Messengers themselves, after
the King had caused it to be read to them, were
very well contented that it should be deliver’d by
other Hands than theirs. So they promised His
Majesty that they would procure a Common Hall
to be call’d assoon as they return’d, where his Mes-
senger might deliver it: And having been well
used by the King and the Court, after Two Days
Stay, they return’d from *Oxford*, together with the
Gentleman sent by His Majesty. When they came
to *London*, the Contents of the Answer were quickly
known, though not deliver’d; and the Two Houses
made an Order, ‘That the Lord-Mayor should not
‘call a Common Hall till he receiv’d farther Di-
‘rection from Them. So that though the Gen-
tleman sent by the King often solicited the Lord-
Mayor, ‘That he would call a Common Hall, at
‘which he was to deliver a Message from the King,
several Days pass’d before any Orders were issued to
that

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Earl of
Manche-
ster's
Speech to
the City.

Mr. Pym's
Speech
there.

that Purpose. At last, a Day was appointed ; at the same time a Committee of the Lords and Commons were sent to be present, and as soon as the Gentleman sent by the King had read His Majesty's Answer, the Earl of *Manchester* told them, ' of the high Value the Parliament had of the City ; ' that they had consider'd of those wounding Aspersions, which in that Answer were cast upon ' Persons of such Eminent Affection in their City, ' and upon others of great Fidelity and Trust among ' them : That they own'd themselves to be equally ' interested in all Things that concern'd them, and ' would stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes, for the Preservation of the City in general, ' and those Persons in particular who had been faithful, and deserv'd well both of the Parliament and ' Kingdom. And they would pursue all Means with ' their Lives and Fortunes, and might be for the ' Preservation of that City, and for the procuring ' of Safety, Happiness and Peace, to the whole ' Kingdom. As soon as his Lordship had finish'd his Speech, which was receiv'd with great Acclamations, Mr. *Pym* enlarged upon the several Parts of the King's Answer (for it was so long before it was deliver'd that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there, after the Messenger was gone so long, that all Men concluded it was deliver'd, were publick, and in all Hands) and told them the Sense of the Two Houses of Parliament upon every Part of it. Among the rest, ' that the demanding the Lord-Mayor, and the other Three ' Citizens, was against the Priviledge of Parliament, ' (Two of them being Members of the House of ' Commons) and most dishonourable to the City ' that the Lord-Mayor of *London* should be subjected to the Violence of every Base Fellow ; and ' that they would be commanded to deliver up ' their Chief Magistrates, and such Eminent Members ' of the City, to the King's Pleasure, only because ' they had done their Duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the Defence of the Kingdom. He told them, ' That to the Objection that the Government of the City had been managed by a few ' desperate Persons, and that they did exercise an
Arbi-

Arbitrary Power, the Two Houses gave them this Testimony, that they had, in most of the great Occasions concerning the Government of the City, follow'd Their Direction: And that Direction which the Parliament had given They had executed; and they must and would maintain to be such, as stood with Their honour in giving it, and the others Trust and Fidelity in performing it. To the Objection, That the Property of the Subject was destroy'd by taking away the Twentieth Part by an Arbitrary Power, he told them, That that Ordinance did not require a Twentieth Part, but did limit the Assessors that they would not go beyond a Twentieth Part; and that was done by a Power deriv'd from Both Houses of Parliament; the Lords, who had an Hereditary Interest in making of Laws in this Kingdom; and the Commons, who were elected and chosen to represent the whole Body of the Commonalty, and trusted, for the good of the People, whenever they see Cause, to charge the Kingdom. He said farther, That the same Law which did enable the Two Houses of Parliament to raise Forces to maintain and defend the Safety of Religion, and of the Kingdom, did likewise enable them to require Contributions, whereby those Forces might be maintain'd; or else it were a Vain Power to raise Forces, if they had not a Power likewise to maintain them in that Service for which they were raised. He observ'd, that it was reported that the King declared he would send some Messengers to observe their Carriage in the City, and what was done among them: The Parliament had just Cause to doubt that those would be Messengers of Sedition and Trouble, and therefore desired them to observe and find them out, that they might know who they were. He concluded with commending unto their Consideration the great Danger that they were all in; and that the Danger could not be kept off, in all likelihood, but by the Army that was then on Foot; and assured them, that the Lords and Commons were so far from being frightened by any thing in that Answer, that they had, for Themselves,

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‘ selves, and the Members of both Houses, declared
 ‘ farther Contribution towards the Maintenance of
 ‘ that Army; and could not but hope and desire, that
 ‘ the City, which had shew’d so much good Affecti-
 ‘ on in the former Necessities of the State, would be
 ‘ sensible of their own, and of the Condition of
 ‘ the whole Kingdom, and add to that which they
 ‘ had already done some farther Contribution, where-
 ‘ by that Army might be maintain’d for all their Safe-
 ‘ ties.

Whether the Solemnity for the Reception of this
 Message, after it was known what the Contents were,
 and the bringing so great a Guard of Arm’d Men to
 the Place where it was to be deliver’d, frighted the
 peaceable Party of the City from coming thither,
 or frighted them when they were there, from ex-
 pressing those Affections, is uncertain. But these
 Speeches and Discourses were receiv’d and entertain’d
 with all imaginable Applause, and that Meeting was
 concluded with a general Acclamation, ‘ that they
 ‘ would live and die with the Houses. and other Ex-
 pressions of that Nature. So that all Thoughts of
 farther Address to the King, or Compliance from
 the City, were so entirely and absolutely laid aside,
 that the Licence of Reflective Discourses daily en-
 creased; insomuch that the King Complained
 of it, and other ill Usages, in the following Letter
 to the Sheriffs.

King’s Let-
 ter to the
 Sheriffs.

‘ Trusty and Well-beloved, we greet you well :
 ‘ We received lately a Petition from the Aldermen
 ‘ and Common-Council of our City of London, by
 ‘ the Hands of Persons intrusted by them for the De-
 ‘ livery, who found such a Reception from us as
 ‘ well manifested our Regard to that Body which
 ‘ sent them; though we well knew by whom
 ‘ that Petition was Framed, and where Perused
 ‘ and Examined, before it was Approved by those
 ‘ from whom it seemed to be sent; yet we were
 ‘ so willing to enter into a Correspondence with
 ‘ that our City, and to receive any Address and
 ‘ Application from them, according to that In-
 ‘ vitation we had given by our late Proclamation;
 ‘ and were so glad to find that there was yet
 some

' some Hopes they would look to the Peace and
 ' Happines of that City, and at last sever them-
 ' selves from any Faction or Dependance which
 ' might insensibly involve them in those Calamities
 ' they did not foresee, that we return'd such a
 ' Gracious Answer thereunto, so full of Candour
 ' and Affection, that the meanest Inhabitant of our
 ' City, if he carefully consider the same, will find
 ' himself concerned at it, and that we have had an
 ' especial Care of his Particular. With this An-
 ' swer of ours we sent a Servant of our own, in
 ' the Company of those who had been so well
 ' used here, to require and see if it might be com-
 ' municated to the whole Body of that our City;
 ' not doubting but that both it and the bringer
 ' should receive such Entertainment there, as might
 ' manifest their due Regard of us, and of our Af-
 ' fection to them; but to our great Wonder we
 ' find, after Ten Days Attendance, and suffering
 ' Ridiculous Pamphlets to be Published in our
 ' Name, as if we Retracted our former Resolutions,
 ' (which Pamphlet we caused to be Burnt by the
 ' Hands of the Common Hangman, as we also
 ' require you to see done) instead of that Admis-
 ' sion we expected to our Messenger and Message,
 ' Guards of Armed Men have been brought to
 ' keep our good Subjects, to whom that our An-
 ' swer was directed, from being Present at the
 ' Reading thereof; and Speeches have been
 ' made by Strangers, who have been admitted to
 ' the City Councils, contrary to the Freedom and
 ' Custom of those Meetings, to blast our said An-
 ' swer, and to Dishonour and Slander us, which if
 ' our good Subjects there shall suffer, we shall be
 ' much discouraged in our Correspondence with
 ' that our City, and so by the Cunning and Power
 ' of those Incendiaries mentioned in our Answer,
 ' (Alderman Pennington) who to shew his great
 ' Loyalty to us, and his Fitness to be Chief Ma-
 ' gistrate of such a City, being informed that a
 ' Desperate Person there said that he hoped short-
 ' ly to wash his Hands in our Blood, refused to
 ' grant any Warrant, or to give any Direction to
 ' any Officer for his Apprehension, (even *Fulk*
 ' and

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‘ and *Manwaring*) who have plunged that our City
 ‘ into such unspeakable Calamities, in which they
 ‘ would still keep it, to Cure their own desperate
 ‘ Condition ; our good Subjects there are not
 ‘ suffered to receive our Gracious Answer to that
 ‘ Petition : We have therefore thought fit to write
 ‘ these our Letters to you, requiring you the said
 ‘ Sheriffs of our said City to take Care for the
 ‘ Publishing that our Answer (which we here-
 ‘ with send to you) to our good Subjects of that
 ‘ our City ; and our Pleasure is, that you the
 ‘ Wardens and Masters of the several Companies
 ‘ of our said City, forthwith Summons all the
 ‘ Members of your several Companies, with all
 ‘ the Freemen and Apprentices (whose Hopes and
 ‘ Interests are so much blasted in these general Di-
 ‘ stractions) belonging thereunto, to appear at
 ‘ your several Halls, where you shall Cause our said
 ‘ Answer, together with these our Letters, to be
 ‘ publicly Read, that all our good Subjects may
 ‘ clearly understand how far we have been from
 ‘ begetting, how far we have been from conti-
 ‘ nuing or nourishing these Unnatural Civil Dis-
 ‘ sentions, and how much it is in their own Power
 ‘ to remove the present Pressures, and to establish
 ‘ the future Happiness and Glory of that Famous
 ‘ City, and most seriously weigh every Part of that
 ‘ our Answer, as well that which carries Caution
 ‘ in it for the Future, as Pardon for what is Past ;
 ‘ for assure your self, for the Time to come, we
 ‘ shall proceed with all Severity against such who
 ‘ shall incur the Penalties of the Law in those
 ‘ Points, of which we have given them so fair a
 ‘ Warning in our said Answer, and whosoever shall
 ‘ not behave himself like a good Subject in this our
 ‘ Kingdom, shall not (if we can help it) receive
 ‘ the Benefit and Advantage of being our Subject
 ‘ in any other ; but all Foreign Princes shall know
 ‘ that as such Person hath parted with his Loyalty to
 ‘ us, so he must not hope for any Security by us, and
 ‘ to that Purpose from henceforward we shall have
 ‘ a very Inquisitive Eye upon the Actions of all our
 ‘ Subjects, that some Example may be made, how
 ‘ easie it is for us to punish their Disloyalties
 ‘ Abroad,

“ Abroad, who for a Time may avoid our Justice
“ at Home ; and to the End that none of the good
“ Subjects of that our City may think themselves
“ bound to obey any of the Orders and Commands
“ of the Pretended Lord-Mayor (whom we have
“ and do still accuse of High-Treason, Con-
“ spiring to take our Life from us) it is well
“ known to those Citizens who understand the
“ Charter of that City (so Amply Granted by our
“ Royal Progenitors, and so Graciously Confirm’d
“ by us, and of which we presume our good Sub-
“ jects there do still desire to receive the Benefit)
“ that the said *Isaac Pennington* was never Regularly
“ Elected, or Lawfully Admitted to be Lord-Mayor
“ of that our City, that in Truth Alderman *Cord-
“ well* was by the Plurality of Voices Chosen,
“ and that this Man was never presented to or
“ admitted by us, in such a Manner as is prescribed
“ by their said Charters ; neither had that Judge,
“ who presumed to swear him, any more Colour of
“ Law or Authority to Administer such an Oath to
“ him, than he hath to do the same to Morrow to
“ any other Alderman of the City ; and we do
“ hereby declare the said *Isaac Pennington* not to
“ be Mayor of that our City of *London*, and to have
“ no Lawful Authority to exercise the same, and
“ that our good Subjects of that our City ought
“ not to submit to any Orders, Directions or Com-
“ mands which shall issue from him as Lord-Mayor
“ of that our City, but that the same are void, and
“ of none Effect. And we do once more require
“ you the Sheriffs of our said City, and all other
“ the Magistrates of the same, in which all our
“ good Subjects of that City will assist you, that
“ you cause the said *Isaac Pennington*, *Ven*, *Fulk*, and
“ *Manwaring* to be Apprehended and Committed
“ to safe Custody, that we may proceed against
“ them as Guilty of High-Treason, and Principal
“ Authors of those Calamities which are now so
“ heavy upon our Poor Subjects of that our City,
“ and if not suddenly Remedied, will in a short
“ Time utterly confound a Place and a People lately
“ of so flourishing an Estimation in all Parts of
“ Christendom. And whereas we are informed
“ that

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' that One *Brown*, a Woodmonger, *Titchburne*, a
 ' Linnen-Draper, and One *Harvey*, a Silkman, have
 ' exercised great Insolencies and Outrages in that
 ' our City; and when many of our Subjects there
 ' have Assembled together in a Peaceable and Mo-
 ' dest Manner, to consult about the Peace and Wel-
 ' fare of that City; the said Mutinous and Sedi-
 ' tious Persons have presumed to lead Multitudes
 ' of Armed Men against them, and by such a Force
 ' have Beaten, Wounded and Killed our good
 ' Subjects; our Will and Pleasure is, that if the
 ' said *Brown*, *Titchburne* and *Harvey*, or either of
 ' them, shall so far neglect our Gracious Offer of
 ' Pardon, as still to engage themselves in those
 ' Unwarrantable and Seditious Courses, that our
 ' Sheriffs of *London* raise Power to suppress the
 ' said Force; and that you, and all our Ministers
 ' of Justice, use your utmost Means to apprehend
 ' the said Persons, and to bring them to Condign
 ' Punishment; and we do hereby declare that it
 ' shall be lawful for any of our Loving Subjects to
 ' resist and oppose the said Persons, if they shall
 ' hereafter in such a Manner endeavour to molest
 ' them, as they would do Rebels and Traytors:
 ' And we hope that all our good Subjects of that
 ' our much Injured City of *London* do take Notice
 ' of our Grace and Favour towards them, in our
 ' so freely Passing by, and Pardoning the Offences
 ' there committed against us, as we have offered
 ' by our Proclamation, and our late Answer, and of
 ' our very earnest Desire to be with them, and to
 ' reside amongst them, for their Comfort, Support
 ' and Protection, if they shall by first providing for
 ' their own Security (in such Manner as we have
 ' directed them in our late Answer) give us an
 ' Instance that we may be safe there too; and
 ' that they do likewise observe, that being by such
 ' Violence kept from them, we have done our ut-
 ' most Endeavour to continue and advance the
 ' Trading of your City, by permitting and en-
 ' couraging all Resort and Traffick thither; and
 ' therefore if by stopping of Carriages, and the
 ' seizing Commodities by other Men, the Com-
 ' merce and Correspondence be broken between that
 ' Place

Place and our good Subjects of other Counties, 1643.
they will impute that Mischief to the Authors
of it, and look upon us only as not able to help
them; do but your Duties, and this Cloud which
threatens a present Confusion will quickly vanish
away, and you will enjoy all the Blessings of a
Happy Nation, to the which no Endeavours of
ours shall be wanting.

The Houses now began to talk themselves of
sending Propositions of Peace to the King; but
those who were so far engaged as to desire to have
it in their Power to oblige the King to consent to
such a Peace as they desired, Represented, 'the
'Consequence of getting the *Scots* to declare for
them, which would more terrifie the King, and
keep the Northern Parts in Subjection, more than
any Forces they should be able to raise; that it
was impossible to draw such a Declaration from
them without first declaring themselves that they
would alter the Government by Bishops;
which that People pretended to believe the only
justifiable Ground to take up Arms. To others,
which was indeed their publick, and avow'd, and
current Argument in Debates, they Alledged, 'that
'they could not expect that any Peace could be
'expected by the King's Free Concurrence to any
'Message they could send to him, but that it must
'arise, and result from a Treaty between them,
'upon such Propositions as either Party would
'make upon their own Interests: That it could not
'be expected that such Propositions would be made
'on either Side, as would be pertinaciously insisted
'on by them who made them; it being the Course
'in all Affairs of this Nature to ask more than was
'expected to be consented to; that it concern'd
'them as much to make Demands of great Moment
'to the King, from which they meant to recede,
'as others upon which they must insist; that all
'Men knew the Inclination and Affection the King
'had to the Church, and therefore if he saw that
'in Danger, he would rescue it at any Price, and
'very probably their departing from their Propo-
sition concerning the Church might be the most
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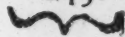
powerful Argument to the King to gratify them with the Militia.

By these Means, and especially by concluding obstinately, that no Propositions should be sent to the King for Peace, till the Bill for Extirpation of Bishops was pass'd the Lords House, they had their Desire, and about the End of *January*, sent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Holland*, with Eight Members of the Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Propositions, which were in these Words, at the Presentation, read by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

Parliament's Petition to the King about Peace.

We your Majesty's most Humble and Faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, having in our Thoughts the Glory of God, your Majesty's Honour, and the Prosperity of your People, and being most grievously afflicted with the pressing Miseries, and Calamities, which have overwhelm'd your Two Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, since your Majesty hath, by the Perswasion of Evil Counsellors, withdrawn your self from the Parliament, raised an Army against it, and, by Force thereof, protected Delinquents from the Justice of it, constraining Us to take Arms for the Defence of Our Religion, Laws, Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the Sitting of the Parliament in Safety; which Fears and Dangers are continued, and encreased, by the Raising, Drawing together, and Arming of great Numbers of Papists, under the Command of the Earl of *Newcastle*; likewise by making the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, and other known Papists, Commanders of great Forces, whereby many grievous Oppressions, Rapines and Cruelties have been, and are daily exercised upon the Persons and Estates of your People, much Innocent Blood hath been spilt, and the Papists have attain'd Means of Attempting, with Hopes of Effecting, their Mischievous Designs of Rooting out the Reform'd Religion, and Destroying the Professors thereof: In the Tender Sense and Compassion of these Evils, under which your People and Kingdom lye, (according to the Duty which We owe to God, your Majesty, and the Kingdom, for which we are trusted) we do

most



‘most earnestly desire that an end may be put to
‘these great Distempers and Distractions, for the
‘preventing of that Desolation which doth threa-
‘ten all your Majesty’s Dominions. And as We
‘have render’d, still are ready to render to your
‘Majesty that Subjection, Obedience, and Service,
‘which We owe unto you, so We most humbly
‘beseech your Majesty to remove the Causes of
‘this War, and to vouchsafe Us that Peace and
‘Protection which We and Our Ancestors have
‘formerly enjoyed under your Majesty, and your
‘Royal Predecessors, and graciously to accept and
‘grant these our most Humble Desires and Proposi-
‘tions.

1. ‘That your Majesty will be pleased to Disband
‘your Armies, as We likewise shall be ready to Dis-
‘band all those Forces which We have raised; and
‘that you will be pleased to return to your Parlia-
‘ment.

2. ‘That you will leave Delinquents to a Le-
‘gal Trial, and Judgment of Parliament.

3. ‘That the Papists may not only be Disbanded,
‘but Disarm’d, according to Law.

4. ‘That your Majesty will be pleased to give
‘your Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away
‘the Superstitious Innovations; to the Bill for the
‘utter Abolishing and Taking away of all Arch-
‘Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commis-
‘saries, Deans, Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters,
‘Arch-Deacons, Canons and Prebendaries, and all
‘Chaunters, Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Trea-
‘surers, Succentors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars
‘Choral, Choristers, old Vicars, and new Vicars of
‘any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church, and all other
‘their Under-Officers, out of the Church of England:
‘To the Bill against scandalous Ministers; to the
‘Bill against Pluralities; and to the Bill for Consul-
‘tation to be had with Godly, Religious and Learn-
‘ed Divines. That your Majesty will be pleased
‘to promise to Pass such other good Bills for settling
‘of Church Government, as upon Consultation with
‘the Assembly of the said Divines shall be resolv’d
‘on by Both Houses of Parliament, and by Them
‘presented to your Majesty.

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5. ' That your Majesty having exprest, in your Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of both Houses of Parliament, an hearty Affection and Intention for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; and that if Both the Houses of Parliament can yet find a more effectual Course to disable Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, from disturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, that you would willingly give your consent unto it; that you would be graciously pleased, for the better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of Recusants, that an Oath may be establish'd by Act of Parliament, to be administer'd in such manner as by Both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein they shall Abjure and Renounce the Pope's Supremacy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Worshipping of the Consecrated Host, Crucifixes and Images: And the refusing the same Oath, being tender'd in such manner as shall be appointed by Act of Parliament, shall be a sufficient Conviction in Law of Recusancy. And that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to give your Royal Assent unto a Bill for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant Religion. That for the more effectual Execution of the Laws against Popish Recusants, your Majesty will be pleased to consent to a Bill for the true Levying of the Penalties against them; and that the same Penalties may be levied and disposed of in such Manner as Both Houses of Parliament shall agree on, so as your Majesty be at no Loss; and likewise to a Bill, whereby the Practice of Papists against the State may be prevented, and the Law against them duly executed.

6. ' That the Earl of *Bristol* may be removed from your Majesty's Councils; and that both He, and the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, may likewise be restrain'd from coming within the Verge of the Court; and that they may not bear any Office, or have any Employments concerning State or Commonwealth.

7. ' That your Majesty will be graciously pleased, by Act of Parliament, to settle the Militia both

by

' by Sea and Land, and for the Forts and Ports of
' the Kingdom, in such a manner as shall be agreed
' on by Both Houses. 1643.

8. ' That your Majesty will be pleased by your
' Letters Patents to make Sir *John Bramston* Chief
' Justice of the Court of *King's-Bench*; *William Len-*
' *thal*, Esquire, the now Speaker of the Commons
' House; Master of the Rolls; to continue the Lord
' Chief Justice *Banks* Chief Justice of the Court of
' *Common-Pleas*; and likewise to make Mr. Serjeant
' *Wild* Chief Baron of your Court of *Exchequer*;
' that Mr. Justice *Bacon* may be continued; Mr. Ser-
' jeant *Rolls*, and Mr Serjeant *Atkins*, made Justices
' of the *King's-Bench*: That Mr Justice *Reeves*, and
' Mr Justice *Foster*, may be continued; and Mr.
' Serjeant *Pheasant* made one of the Justices of your
' Court of *Common-Pleas*: That Mr. Serjeant *Cres-*
' *wel*, Mr *Samuel Brown*, and Mr *John Puleston*, may
' be Barons of the *Exchequer*; and that all these,
' and all the Judges of the same Courts, for the time
' to come, may hold their Places by Letters Patents
' under the great Seal, *Quam diu se bene gesserint*:
' And that the several Persons not before-named,
' that do hold any of these Places before-mention'd,
' may be removed.

9. ' That all such Persons as have been put out of
' the Commissions of Peace of *Oyer and Terminer*, or
' from being *Custodes Rotulorum*, since the First Day
' of *April 1642*, (other than such as were put out
' by desire of Both or Either of the Houses of Parlia-
' ment) may again be put into those Commissions
' and Offices, and that such Persons may be put
' out of those Commissions and Offices as shall
' be excepted against by Both Houses of Parlia-
' ment.

10. ' That your Majesty will be pleased to pass
' the Bill now presented to your Majesty, to vindicate and secure the Privileges of Parliament from
' the ill Consequence of the late Precedent in the
' Charge and Proceeding against the Lord *Kimbolton*,
' now Earl of *Manchester*, and the Five Members; of
' the House of Commons.

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11. ' That your Royal Assent may be given unto such Acts as shall be advised by Both Houses of Parliament, for the satisfying and paying the Debts and Damages, wherein the Two Houses of Parliament have engaged the Publick Faith of the Kingdom.

12. ' That your Majesty will be pleased, according to a Gracious Answer heretofore receiv'd from you, to enter into a more strict Alliance with the States of the Protestant Religion, for the Defence and Maintenance thereof against all Designs and Attempts of the Popish and Jesuitical Faction, to Subvert and Suppress it; whereby your Subjects may hope to be free from the Mischiefs which this Kingdom hath endured, through the Power which some of that Party have had in your Counsels; and will be much encouraged, in a Parliamentary Way, for your Aid and Assistance in Restoring your Royal Sister, and the Prince Elector, to those Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and Relieving the other Protestant Princes who have suffer'd in the same Cause.

13. ' That in the General Pardon which your Majesty hath been pleased to offer to your Subjects, all Offences and Misdemeanours committed before the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been or shall be question'd, or proceeded against in Parliament, upon Complaint in the House of Commons, before the 10th of *January* 1643, shall be excepted; which Offences and Misdemeanours shall nevertheless be taken and adjudged to be fully discharged against all other Inferior Courts. That likewise there shall be an Exception of all Offences committed by any Person or Persons, which hath, or have had, any Hand or Practice in the Rebellion of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any Counsels, Assistance, or Encouragement to the Rebels there for the Maintenance of that Rebellion; as likewise an Exception of *William* Earl of *Newcastle*, and *George* Lord *Digby*.

14. ' That your Majesty will be pleased to restore such Members of either Houses of Parliament to their several Places of Services and Employment,
out

‘ out of which they have been put since the Beginning of this Parliament ; that they may receive Satisfaction, and Reparation for those Places, and for the Profits which they have lost by such Removals, upon the Petition of Both Houses of Parliament : And that all others may be restored to their Offices and Employments who have been put out of the same upon any Displeasure conceiv’d against them, for any Assistance given to Both Houses of Parliament, or obeying their Commands, or forbearing to leave the Attendance upon the Parliament without Licence ; or for any other Occasion, arising from these unhappy Differences betwixt your Majesty and Both Houses of Parliament, upon the like Petition of Both Houses.

‘ These things being granted and perform’d, as it hath always been our hearty Prayer, so shall We be enabled to make it our hopeful Endeavour, that your Majesty and your People may enjoy the Blessings of Peace, Truth, and Justice ; the Royalty and Greatness of your Throne may be supported by the Loyal and Bountiful Affections of your People ; Their Liberties and Privileges maintain’d by your Majesty’s Protection and Justice ; and this Publick Honour and Happiness of your Majesty, and all your Dominions, communicated to other Churches and States of your Alliance, and derived to your Royal Posterity, and the future Generations of this Kingdom for ever.

They who brought this Petition and Propositions, spake to their Friends at *Oxford* with all Freedom of the Persons from whom they came ; inveighed against their Tyranny and Unreasonableness, and especially against the Propositions they themselves had brought ; but positively declared, ‘ that if the King would vouchsafe so Gracious an Answer (which they confess’d they had no Reason to expect) as might engage the Two Houses in a Treaty, it would not be then in the Power of the Violent Party to deny whatsoever His Majesty could reasonably desire. However, though the King expected little from private Undertakings, he within Two Days dismissed those Messengers with this Answer.

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Kings Answer.

' If his Majesty had not given up all the Faculties
 ' of his Soul to an earnest Endeavour of Peace, and
 ' Reconciliation with his People; or if he would
 ' suffer himself, by any Provocation, to be drawn to
 ' a Sharpness of Language, at a time when there
 ' seems somewhat like an Overture of Accommoda-
 ' tion, he could not but resent the heavy Charges
 ' upon him in the Preamble of these Propositions;
 ' would not suffer himself to be reproached with
 ' protecting of Delinquents by Force from Justice,
 ' (His Majesty's desire having always been, that
 ' all Men should be tried by the known Law, and
 ' having been refused it) with raising any Army
 ' against his Parliament, and to be told that Arms
 ' have been taken up against Him for the Defence of
 ' Religion, Law, Liberties and Privileges of Parlia-
 ' ment, and for the Sitting of the Parliament in
 ' Safety, with many other Particulars in the Pream-
 ' ble, so often and so fully answer'd by His Majesty,
 ' with remembring the World of the Time and
 ' Circumstances of raising those Arms against him;
 ' when His Majesty was so far from being in a
 ' Condition to invade other Men's Rights, that he
 ' was not able to maintain and defend his own
 ' from Violence; and without telling his good Sub-
 ' jects that their Religion (the true Protestant Reli-
 ' gion, in which His Majesty was Born, hath faith-
 ' fully Liv'd, and to which he will Die a willing Sa-
 ' crifice) their Laws, Liberties, Privileges, and
 ' Safety of Parliament, were so amply settled and
 ' establish'd, or offer'd to be so by His Majesty, be-
 ' fore any Army was raised against him, and long be-
 ' fore any raised by him for his Defence, that if
 ' nothing had been desired but that Peace and Pro-
 ' tection which his Subjects, and their Ancestors,
 ' had in the best Times enjoyed, under His Ma-
 ' jesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this Misunder-
 ' standing and Distance between His Majesty and his
 ' People, and this general Misery and Distraction
 ' upon the Face of the whole Kingdom, had not
 ' been now the Discourse of all *Christendom*. But
 ' His Majesty will forbear any Expressions of Bit-
 ' terness, or of a Sense of his own Suffering, that,
 ' if it be possible, the Memory thereof may be lost to
 the

the World. And therefore, though many of the Propositions, presented to His Majesty by Both Houses, appear to him very derogatory from, and destructive to, his Just Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them being already due to them by the Laws establish'd, (and how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require New Laws all the World may judge) yet (because these may be waved or mollified, and many Things that are now dark and doubtful in them clear'd and explain'd upon Debate) His Majesty is pleas'd, such is his Sense of the Miseries this Kingdom suffers by this unnatural War, and his earnest Desire to remove them by an happy Peace, that a speedy Time and Place be agreed upon for the meeting of such Persons as His Majesty and Both Houses shall appoint to discuss these Propositions, and such others here following as His Majesty doth propose to them.

1. That His Majesty's own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by Force, be forthwith restored unto him.

2. That whatsoever hath been done or publish'd, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to His Majesty's Legal and Known Power and Rights be renounced and recall'd, that no Seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. That whatsoever Illegal Power hath been claim'd and exercis'd by or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their Persons without Law, stopping their *Habeas Corpus's*, and imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, &c. either Both or Either House, or any Committee of Both or Either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them, be disclaim'd; and all such Persons so committed forthwith discharged.

4. That as His Majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the Execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Religion now establish'd by Law; so he desires that a good Bill may be framed for the better preserving the Book of
Common

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Common-Prayer from the Scorn and Violence of *Brownists, Anabaptists,* and other *Sectaries*, with such Clauses for the Ease of Tender Consciences as His Majesty hath formerly offer'd.

5. That all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be excepted out of the General Pardon, shall be Tried *per pares*, according to the usual Course, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that either to acquit or condemn them.

6. And to the Intent this Treaty may not suffer Interruption by any intervening Accident, that a Cessation of Arms, and free Trade for all His Majesty's Subjects, may be first agreed upon.

This Offer and Desire of His Majesty, he hopes, will be so cheerfully entertain'd, that a speedy and blessed Peace may be accomplish'd. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable Circumstances, be made impossible, (which he hopes God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer) the Guilt of the Blood which will be shed, and the Desolation which must follow, will lye upon the Heads of the Refusers. However, His Majesty is resolv'd, through what Accidents soever he shall be compell'd to recover his Rights, and with what prosperous Success soever it shall please God to bless him, that by his earnest, constant Endeavours to propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by his governing according to the known Laws of the Land, and upholding the Just Privileges of Parliament, according to his frequent Protestations made before Almighty God, (which he will always inviolably observe) the World shall see that he hath undergone all these Difficulties and Hazards for the Defence and Maintenance of those, the zealous Preservation of which, His Majesty well knows is the only Foundation and Means for the true Happiness of Him and his People.

In the Mean time, tho' the Season were not so proper for Action, Things were not Quiet in the Field: We have before mentinn'd *Waller's* winning of *Cirencester*, a good Town in *Glocester-shire*, for the Parliament, which they were fortifying, and had in it a very strong Garrison; and, being upon the edge of

Wilt-

Wilt-shire, Berk-shire and Oxfordshire, shrewdly streighten'd the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near Two Thousand Foot, and One Regiment of Horse, intended, with the Assistance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to join him with some Regiments from *Oxford*, to take that Town; but by the extreme foulness of the Ways, the fall of Rain at that time, and some mistake in Orders between the Two Generals, that Design was disappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy so much the more Courage and Diligence to provide for an Assault. However, in the beginning of *February* Prince *Rupert* went upon the same Design with better Success; and at one and the same time storming the Town in several Places, their Works being not yet finished, though obstinately enough defended, enter'd their Line with some Loss of Men, and many Hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not so few as Two Hundred kill'd upon the Place, and above One Thousand taken Prisoners, whereof there were several of Note. The Place yielded much Plunder, from which the undistinguishing Souldier could not be kept, but was equally unjurious to Friend and Foe; so that many who were Imprison'd by the Parliamentarians for not concurring with them, found themselves at Liberty and Undone together: The Prince left a strong Garrison there, that brought almost all that whole Country under Contribution, and was a great Enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without Interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worcester*, which with *Hereford*, and those Counties, had some time before been quitted by the Parliament; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in those Parts by the Earl of *Essex*, being call'd from thence by the Growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the securing the West.

And now that we have mentioned *Cornwal*, we are to take Notice that the Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely possess'd of *Devonshire*, and believ'd themselves Masters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceston*, to be

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sure that Sir Ralph Hopton and his Adherents, (whose Power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their Hands. This was before the Battel of *Edge-bill*, when the King was at lowest, and when the Authority of Parliament found little Opposition in any Place. The Quarter-Sessions came, where they caused a Presentment to be drawn, in Form of Law, 'against 'divers Men unknown, who were lately come 'Arm'd into that Country *contra pacem*, &c. though none were named, all understood who were meant; and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who very well understood those Proceedings, voluntarily appear'd, took Notice of the Presentment, and produced the Commission granted by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquess of *Hertford*, by which he was constituted General of the West, and a Commission from his Lordship to Sir *Ralph Hopton* of Lieutenant General of the Horse; and and told them, 'he was sent to assist them, in the 'Defence of their Liberties, against all illegal 'Taxes and Impositions. Hereupon, after a full and solemn Debate, the Jury, which consisted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the Country, not only acquitted Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen, his Companions, of any Disturbance of the Peace; but declared, 'that 'it was a great Favour and Justice of His Majesty to send down Aid to them who were 'already mark'd out to Destruction; and that they 'thought it the Duty of every good Subject, 'as well in Loyalty to the King, as in Gratitude to those Gentlemen, to join with them 'with any Hazard of Life or Fortune.

As this full Vindication was thus gotten on the King's Part, so an Indictment was preferr'd against Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *Richard Buller*, and the rest of the Committee, 'for a Rout and 'Unlawful Assembly at *Launceston*; and for Riots 'and Misdemeanours committed against many 'of the King's good Subjects, in taking their Liberties from them, (for they had intercepted and apprehended divers Messengers, and others of the King's Party, and employed by them). This

Indict-

Indictment and Information was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon, according to a Statute in that Case provided, an Order of Sessions was granted to the High Sheriff, a Person affected to the King's Service, 'to raise the *Posse Comitatus*, 'for the Dispersing that unlawful Assembly at *Launceston*, and for the Apprehension of the Rioters. This was the Rise and Foundation of all the great Service that was afterwards perform'd in *Cornwal*, by which the whole West was reduced to the King. For, by this Means, there were immediately drawn together a Body of Three Thousand Foot, well Arm'd, which by no other Means could have been done; with which Sir *Ralph Hopton*, whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards *Launceston*, where the Committee had fortified themselves, and from thence had sent Messages of great Contempt upon the Proceedings of the Sessions; for besides their Confidence in their own *Cornish* Strength, they had a good Body of Horse to second them upon all Occasions in the Confines of *Devon*.

Sir *George Chudliegh*, a Gentleman of good Fortune and Reputation in that County, and very Active for the Militia, being then at *Tavistock* with Five or Six full Troops of Horse, raised in that County to go to the Parliament Army, but detain'd till *Cornwal* could be settled, upon the News of Sir *Ralph Hopton*'s advancing, drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devonshire*, but within Three Miles of *Launceston*. Sir *Ralph Hopton* march'd within Two Miles of the Town, where he refresh'd his Men, intending the next Morning early to fall on the Town: But Sir *Richard Buller*, and his Confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great Disorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devonshire*, and so towards *Plimouth*; so that in the Morning Sir *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceston* open, and enter'd without Resistance. This done, *Hopton* march'd to *Salt-ash*, wherein was a Garrison of Two Hundred Scots; who upon his Approach kindly quitted it, as the others had *Launceston* before. So that being now entirely Masters of *Cornwal*, they fairly dismiss'd those

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those who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own small Body of Horse and Dragoons, till a new Provocation from the Enemy should put fresh Vigour into that Country.

On the other Hand, the Reputation of the Royalists being Masters of that one Country, and the Apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more Care for their Suppression, and therefore they sent their whole Forces out of *Dorset* and *Somerset*, to join with those of *Devon*, to make an entire Conquest of *Cornwal*. With these, *Ruthen* (a *Scotchman*, the Governour of *Plimouth*) advanced into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, Six Miles above *Salt-ash*, having master'd the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* followed him Two or Three Days March behind with a new supply of Horse and Foot; tho' those *Ruthen* had with him were much Superior to those of the King's; which now were forced to retire with their whole Strength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreseeing this Storm some few Days before it came, they had again summon'd the *Posse Comitatus*, which appear'd in considerable Numbers. But they had scarce refresh'd themselves there, and put their Men in Order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horse, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within Seven Miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all Alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to fight before the Earl of *Stamford* could come up; but *Ruthen*, as eager for Action as themselves, drew out his Forces, and chusing his Ground upon the East Side of *Bradock-Down*, near *Liskard*, stood in Battalia to expect the Enemy; Sir *Ralph Hopton* having likewise put His Men in Order, caused Publick Prayers to be said at the Head of every Squadron, which the *Rebels* observing, (says my Lord *Cl——*) told their Fellows they were at Mass to stir up their Courages in the Cause of Religion, and having Winged his Foot with his Horse and Dragoons, he advanced within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, who stood without any Motion. Then perceiving that their Cannon were

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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were not yet come up from the Town, he caused Two small Iron Minion Drakes, being all the Artillery they had, to be drawn under the Cover of little Parties of Horse to a convenient Distance from the Body of the Enemies; and after Two Shots of those Drakes, (which being not discern'd, and doing some Execution, struck a greater Terror into them) advanced with his Body upon them, and, with very easie Contention, beat them off their Ground, they having lined the Hedges behind them with their Reserve, by which they thought securely to make their Retreat into the Town. But the *Cornish* so briskly bestirr'd themselves, and press'd them so hard on every Side, being indeed excellent at that kind of Fight, that they quickly won that Ground too, and put their whole Army into a Rout, and had the full Execution of them as far as they could pursue. In this Battle, without the loss of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took Twelve Hundred and Fifty Prisoners, most of their Colours, all their Cannon, being Four Brass Guns, (whereof Two were Twelve Pounders) and One Iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and most of their Arms. *Rutben* himself, and those who could keep Pace with him, fled to *Salt-ash*, which he thought to fortifie, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and Assistance of the Shipping, to defend, and thereby still to have an Influence upon a good Part of *Cornwall*. The Earl of *Stamford* receiving quick Advertisement of this Defeat, in great Disorder retired to *Tavistock* to preserve the utmost Parts of *Devon* from Incurfions. Hereupon the King's Forces divided themselves; Sir *John Berkley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, with Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning's*, and Colonel *Trevannion's* Voluntary Regiments, and such a Party of Horse and Dragoons as could be spared, advanced to *Tavistock* to visit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mobun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mobun's*, and Colonel *Godolphin's* Voluntary Regiments, and some of the Train'd-bands, march'd towards *Salt-ash* to dislodge *Rutben*; who within Three Days (for there was no more between his De-

feat

Hopton
beats the
Parlia-
ment's For-
ces at Bra-
dock-
Down.

1643. *feat at Bradock-Down, and his Visitation at Salt-ash*) had cast up such Works, and Planted such Store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himself able, with the Help of a Ship of Four Hundred Tuns, in which were Sixteen Pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up to the very Side of the Town, to defend that Place against any Strength that was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found his Mistake, for as soon as the *Cornish* Men came up, they fell upon his Works, and in a short Time beat him out of them, and then out of the Town, with a Considerable Execution upon them; many being kill'd in the Fight, and more drown'd; *Rutben* himself hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plimouth*, leaving all his Ordnance behind him, which together with the Ship, and Seventy Prisoners, and all their Colours, which had been saved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Masters of *Cornwal*.

The Earl of *Stamford* had not the same Patience to abide the other Party at *Tavistock*, but before their Approach quitted the Town; some of his Forces making haste into *Plimouth*, and the rest retiring into *Exeter*. But the Royalists finding they could make no Impression upon the other strong Holds of the Enemy, retired with their whole Forces to *Tavistock*, where they refreshed, and rested themselves many Days, being willing to ease their fast Friends of *Cornwal* as much as was possible from the Trouble and Charge of their little Army. They also laboured under want of Ammunition, which at length they were supplied with from *France* by the Interest and Management of Captain *Carteret*.

But in the mean time, when they were clouded with that want at *Tavistock*, some Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, who adhered to the Parliament, and were thereby dispossest of their Country, made some Overtures, 'that a Treaty might be enter'd into, where-
'by the Peace of the Two Counties of *Cornwal* and
'*Devon* might be settled, and the War be remov'd into other Parts. They who had most experience of the Humours and Dispositions of the Party easily concluded the little Hope there was of Peace by such a Treaty;
yet

yet the Proposition was so Specious and Popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore they agreed to a meeting between Persons chosen of either Side; and the Earl of *Stamford* himself was so ingenious, that, at the very first Meeting, to shew their clear Intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Person employ'd and trusted in the Treaty, should first make a Protestation in these Words, 'I do solemnly vow, and protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Commissioner to this Treaty with fervent Desire of concluding an honourable and firm Peace between the Two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*, but also will, to the utmost of my Power, prosecute, and really endeavour to accomplish and effect the same, by all Lawful Ways and Means I Possibly can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion establish'd by Law in the Church of *England*, the just Rights and Prerogatives of our Sovereign Lord the King, the just Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament; together with the just Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and that I am without any Intention (by fomenting this unnatural War) to gain, or Hope to advantage my self with the real, or personal Estate of any Person whatsoever, or obtaining any Office, Command, Title of Honour, Benefit, or Reward, either from the King's Majesty, or either, or both Houses of Parliament now assembled. And this I take, in the Presence of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same at his Tribunal, according to the Literal Sense and Meaning of the foregoing Words without any Equivocation, Mental, Reservation, or other Evasion whatsoever; so help me God. A Truce and Cessation ensuing hereupon, we may perhaps hear more of this Treaty by and by.

Many Speeches all this while were made in the King's Council for and against this War, according to the Inclinations of the Parties, among the rest take the Two following One (fit to be taken Notice of) in the House of Lords.

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My

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The Earl
of Bristol's
Speech for a
War,

My Lords,

I know you expect I should deliver my Opinion in the Present Affairs, which how much more Weighty it is, so much more Timorous am I to discover my Opinion in it, lest some should imagine my Vote to arrogate to its self a Definitive Power, and look to pass without any Contradiction; but I disclaim any such Haughty Intensions, and shall plainly, according to my Conscience, give in my True Verdict of the Affair in Agitation, namely, whether it were better for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty, and the Good of his Kingdoms, to continue the Present War, or to acquire and endeavour a sudden Peace betwixt his Majesty and his High Court of Parliament. *Discurrunt Medici, trahant Fabrilia fabri:* We are, My Lords, the Physicians that ought to Discourse of the Diseases of the Commonwealth, and by the Gentlest and Wholesomest Remedies our Art can invent labour her sudden Cure; but yet we ought to take heed the Cure be not worse than the Disease; that while we strive to compose the Differences that are but contingent to us, we pull upon our Selves and our Families certain, and not to be avoided Ruins. Charity begins at Home, says the Proverb, and in Wisdom we are engaged to Provide, that by the Purchase of the Publick Peace we do not entail upon our Posterity the Cruellest of all Wars; the Wars which our Children and their Descendants must have with Want and Penury, the greatest and most depressing Enemy that can manage Arms against Noble and Generous Minds, and to that exigent must we betray them for the Future, our Selves for the Present, if we yield to or determine of a Peace. The Parliament have declared divers of the most Eminent in Nobility amongst us Delinquents in the highest Nature to the Commonwealth, have proscribed our Persons, and adjudged our Estates no longer ours, but forfeited to the Commonwealth, and so have taken Order for the receiving and securing our Revenues into such Hands as shall dispose them according to their Intensions;

and

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and without this Condition be ratified, it is most probably imagined they will hardly be drawn to an Accommodation for Peace. In what State then will our Fortunes stand? In what a Deplorable Condition shall we then leave our Children, Heirs only to their Parent's Loyalties, not to their Lands.

Incidit in scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

We shall justly verifie that Sentence, escaping a Quicksand, we shall fall upon a Rock that will split us; out of one Evil into a worse, that Condition of Peace being incompatible with our Existences; but grant that this Article were removed out of the Propositions, as the Case stands, my Lords, I cannot (tho' I love Peace, and pray for it with all my Heart) see which Way his Majesty can condescend to it with his Honour.

Is it fit for a King to beg Peace of his Subjects? For the Regal Authority, the immediate Figure of Heaven, and the Deity on Earth, to descend from its Supream Height, and, as it were, to derive its Power from a Subordinate Power derived from its Bounty? That were to Invert and Vitiate the Course of Nature, to enforce the Cause to give Place to its Effect; the Sun to acknowledge his All-quickning Heat and Light from the Terrestrial Fires, create, (as it were) and issuing from its Influence. In Spain (where the long Time I resided there as Ambassador afforded me Priviledge to be well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom) in no Age or Record can hardly be found mentioned of Intestine Wars, till these very Years wherein all the World labours with Dissentions; the Reason is, because they are truly Subjects, and their Sovereign truly a Sovereign; and since the State here will not be so to the King, nor suffer the King to be so to them; my Reason tells me they should be Compell'd to it: It is no Dishonour for Subjects to condescend to any Propositions to their King, but it is an excessive Diminution to his Majesty's Royalty to submit himself to his Subjects. *Fuisse Fœlicem Miserimum est*: My Opinion therefore is (with all Humility to his Majesty) that he neither propound to the Parliament, nor

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receive from them any Conditions for Peace, but
 such as shall Absolutely Comply with the Regal
 Dignity and Prerogative, (which God and Suc-
 cession hath allowed him) and such as may be
 no Way Prejudicial to us or our Estates, his Ma-
 jesties most Faithful Servants and Counsellors. We
 have an Army on foot, a Braver the Sun never
 shone on; an Army that by Force can compel
 that which fair Words cannot effect, and
 since *Emori per Virtutem prestat quam per dede-*
cus vivere; let us resolve always, submitting to
 his Majesty's Judgment, to go on Cheerfully in
 these Wars, which though they be Rough and
 and Churlish Parents, will at last bring forth that
 Mild and Gentle Offspring Peace, and we shall
 enjoy that with Honour and Safety, which other-
 wise with Disgrace and Detriment we shall be
 enforced to abandon.

Bristol having thus concluded his Harangue, was
 Encountred by another of the Earl of *Dorset's*, in
 the following Terms.

My Lords,

The Earl of
 Dorset's
 Speech for
 an Accom-
 modation
 with the
 Parliam-
 ent.

THE Earl of *Bristol* hath delivered his Opinion,
 and I shall with the like Integrity give your
 Lordships an Account of my Intention in this
 great and important Business; I shall not, as
 young Students in the Schools, *Argumentandi*
Gratia, repugn my Lord of *Bristol's* Tenets; but
 because my Conscience tells me they are not Or-
 thodox, nor consonant to the Disposition of the
 Commonweath, which languishing with a Te-
 dious Sicknefs, must be recovered by gentle and
 easie Medicines, in consideration of its Weakness,
 rather than by Violent Vomits, or any other Cor-
 roding or Compelling Physick; not that I will
 absolutely labour to refute my Lord's Opinion,
 but justly deliver my Own, which being contra-
 ry to his, may appear an Express Contradiction
 of it, which indeed it is not: Peace, and that
 a sudden One being so necessary betwixt his Ma-
 jesty and his Parliament, as Light is requisite for
 the Production of the Day, or Heat to cherish from
 above

above all Inferiour Bodies: This Division between his Majesty and his Parliament, being, (as if by Miracle) the Sun should be separated from his proper Essence; I would not, my Lords, be ready to embrace a Peace that should be more disadvantageous to us than the present War, which as the Earl of *Bristol* says, should destroy our Estates and Families: The Parliament only declares that against Delinquents, such as they conjecture have Mis-counselled his Majesty, and be the Authors of these Tumults in the Commonwealth; but this Declaration of theirs, except such Crimes can be proved against them, is of no Validity; the Parliament will do nothing Unjustly, nor condemn the Innocent; and certainly Innocent Men need not fear to appear before any Judges whatsoever; and he who shall for any Cause prefer his Private Good before the Publick Utility, is but an Ill Son of the Commonwealth; for my particular in these Wars, I have suffered as much as any; my Houses have been searched, my Arms taken thence, and my Son and Heir committed to Prison; yet I shall wave these Discourses, because there was a Necessity they should be so; and as the Darling Business of the Kingdom, the Honour and Prosperity of the King, study to Reconcile all these Differences between his Majesty and his Parliament, and so to Reconcile them that they shall in no Way prejudice his Prerogative, of which I believe the Parliament, being a Loyal Defender (knowing the Subjects properly dependent on it, for where Sovereigns cannot enjoy their Rights, their Subjects cannot) will never endeavour to be an Infringer; so that if Fears and Jealousies were taken away by a fair Treaty between his Majesty and his Parliament, no doubt a Means might be used to Rectify these Differences; the Honour of the King, the Estates of us his Followers, and Counsellors, the Priviledges of Parliament, and Property of the Subject, being inviolably preserved in Safety, and neither the King stoop in this to his Subjects, nor the Subjects to be deprived of their Just Liberty by the King; and

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whereas my Lord of *Bristol* affirms, that in *Spain*
 very few Civil Dissentions arise, because the Sub-
 jects are truly Subjects, and their Sovereign truly
 a Sovereign ; that is, as I understand, the Subjects
 are scarcely removed a Degree from Slaves, nor
 the Sovereign from a Tyrant : Here in *England*
 the Subjects have, by long and received Liberty,
 granted to their Ancestors from our Kings, made
 their Freedom result unto a Second Nature ; and
 neither is it safe for our King to strive to intro-
 duce the *Spanish* Government upon this Free-born
 Nation, nor just for the People to suffer that Go-
 vernment to be enforced upon them, which I am
 certain his Majesty's Goodness never intended ;
 and whereas my Lord of *Bristol* intimates the
 Strength and Bravery of our Army, as an inducement
 to the Continuation of these Wars, which
 he promises himself will produce a Fair and Happy
 Peace ; in this I am utterly repugnant to his
 Opinion ; for grant that we have an Army of
 Gallant and Able Men, which indeed cannot be
 denied, yet have we infinite Disadvantages on our
 Side, the Parliament having double our Number,
 and surely (though our Enemies) Persons of as
 much Bravery, nay, and sure to be daily supplied
 when any of their Number fails, a Benefit
 which we cannot boast, they having the most
 Popular Part of the Kingdom at their Devotion ;
 all or most of the Cities, considerable Towns and
 Ports, together with the mainest Pillar of the
 Kingdom's Safety, the Sea, at their Command,
 and the Navy ; and which is most Material of all,
 an unexhausted *Indies* of Money to pay their Sol-
 diers, out of the Liberal Contributions of Coin
 and Plate sent by People of Conditions, who ac-
 count the Parliament's Cause their Cause, and so
 think themselves engaged to part with the utter-
 most Penny of their Estates in their Defence, whom
 they Esteem the Patriots of their Liberty ; the
 Strength of theirs and our Defects considered, I con-
 clude it necessary for all our Safeties, and the Good
 of the Commonwealth, humbly to beseech his Ma-
 jesty to take some present Order for a Treaty of Peace
 between his Majesty and his High Court of Parlia-
 ment,

ment, who I believe are so Loyal and Obedient to his
Sacred Majesty, as they will propound nothing
that shall be Prejudicial to his Royal Prerogative,
or Repugnant to their Fidelity or Duty.

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From this Civil Contention in the Cabinet, let us again return to those without; if we take a View of the Northern Parts of the Kingdom in this unhappy Conjunction, we shall find Things have a good Aspect for the King there; the Earl of *Newcastle* having left a good Garrison in the Town of that Name, quickly made himself Master of the North as far as *York*, where soon after his Arrival he made General *King* Lieutenant General of his Army, who, notwithstanding the unavoidable Prejudice, in that Juncture, of his being a *Scotch-man*, order'd the Foot with great Wisdom and Dexterity; the Charge of the Horse being at the same Time committed to General *Goring*; who, by the Queen's Favour, notwithstanding all former Failings, was recommended to that Province, and quickly applied himself to Action: So that though the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby* and *Carwood*, both within a small distance from *York*, the Earl was Absolute Master of the Field, so that the Queen her self thought of returning into *England*. She had, from her first going into *Holland*, dexterously endeavour'd to advance the King's Interest, and sent very great Quantities of Arms and Ammunition to *Newcastle*, (though, by the Vigilance of the Parliament Agents in those Parts, and the Power of their Ships, a great deal of it was intercepted) with some considerable Sums of Money, and good Store of Officers, who, by the Connivance of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to serve the King; and from this extraordinary Care of her Majesty's, and her known Favour to the Person of the Earl of *Newcastle*, that Army was by the Parliament stiled the *Queen's Army* and the *Catholick Army*, that consisted of but too many profess'd Papists, of whom, the Opposite Party, made the People the more ready to believe, they intended nothing but the Extirpation of the Protestants, and Establishing their own Profession.

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The Queen
arrives at
Burlington
from Hol-
land.

The Queen accordingly about the middle of *February*. arrived safe in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coast of *York-shire*, where she was necessitated to have the Patience to stay on Shipboard at Anchor, the space of Two Days, till the Earl had Notice to draw such a part of his Forces that Way as might secure her Landing, and wait on her to *York*; the Second Day after her Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her Passage) with Four of the King's Ships, arrived in *Burlington Road*, and finding that her Majesty was Landed, and that she lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the nearest Distance, being very early in the Morning, discharged above a Hundred Cannon for the space of Two Hours upon the House where her Majesty was lodged; whereupon she was forced out of her Bed, some of the Shot making Way through her own Chamber, and to shelter her self under a Bank in the open Fields. Most of the North being now however at the Devotion of the Queen, we shall proceed to other Parts of the Kingdom: The Lord *Brook* lost his Life in Besieging the Cathedral of *Litchfield* for the Parliament: But Sir *John Gell* pursued the Work so vigorously, that the Place was yielded to him, by which the Spirits of his Party were much Exalted and the King's in those Parts as much cast down. Yet some Gentlemen betook themselves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of Strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houses, resolv'd to defend that Place; against which Sir *John Gell* drew his Late flush'd Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the Relief of *Lichfield*, if they had any Patience to expect it) with a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, from his Garrison of *Banbury*, came seasonably to their Succour, and put himself into the Town; and the same Night beat up a Quarter of the Enemy with Success, Sir *John Gell* retired so far, as to meet with Sir *William Bruerton*, who from *Nantwich*, was coming to join with him for the subduing of *Stafford*; and having done that, resolved to March in a Body for

for the clearing the other Counties. When they were join'd, being near Three Thousand Foot and Horse, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*, imagining *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: And it so fell out; for the Earl no sooner heard that they were drawn towards the Town, but he drew out his Party to encounter them; imagining it could be only *Gell*, whose Numbers he understood, and whose Courage he much undervalued. The Engagement happened upon *Hopton-Heath*, some Two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than Double to the Earl's, yet the Heath seeming very Fair, the Breadth of it being more than Musquet-shot from Enclosures on each Side, and the Number of his Horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to Charge them; and that with so good Success, that he totally routed that Part of the Horse; and rallying again his Men, he charged the other Part of their Horse, which stood more in Shelter of their Foot; and so totally routed and dispersed them, that the Enemy had scarce a Horse left upon the Field; and took likewise from them Eight Pieces of Cannon. But in the Second Charge, the Earl being engaged on the Execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horse killed under him. So that his own Horse (according to their wonted Practice) with too much Fury pursuing the Chase, he was left Encompass'd with his Enemies. What His Behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Testimony of themselves; who said, that after he was on his Feet, he kill'd with his own Hand the Colonel of Foot, who made first haste to him; and that after his Head-piece was stricken off with the But-End of a Musquet, they offer'd him Quarter; which they say he refused; answering, 'that he scorn'd to take any Quarter from such base Rogues and Rebels as they were. After which he was Slain by a blow with a Halbert on the Hinder Part of his Head, receiving at the same Time, another deep Wound in his Face.

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All this Time the Parliament's Foot stood, which (after their Horse were Dispersed) Sir *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of *Wales's* Regiment, charged with some Execution. But the Night came on apace; and the Field, which they thought so Fair, being found full of Coal-pits and Holes, dangerous for their Horse, they thought fit to forbear further Action.

In this Fight, which was sharp and short, there were kill'd and taken Prisoners of the Parliament Party, above Two Hundred, and more than that Number Wounded. Eight Pieces of their Cannon, and most of their Ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's Party were slain but Five and Twenty, whereof there were Two Captains, some Inferior Officers, and the rest Common Men: But there were as many hurt, and those of the Chief Officers.

Northamp-
ton's Cha-
racter.

The Character given by Cl—— of this Earl was, that he was a Person of great Courage, Honour and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having in the Ease, and Plenty, and Luxury of that too happy Time, indulged to himself, that Licence which was then thought necessary to Great Fortunes: But from the beginning of these Distractions, as if he had been awaken'd out of a Lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm Temper. Before the Standard was set up, he appear'd in *Warwick-shire* against the Lord *Brook*, and as much upon his own Reputation as the Justice of the Cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of the Country. Afterwards he took the Ordinance from *Banbury-Castle*, and brought them to the King. As soon as an Army was to be rais'd, he levied, with the First, upon his own Charge, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; and (not like other Men, who warily distributed their Family to both Sides, One Son to serve the King, whilst his Father, or another Son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely Dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having Four Sons Officers under him, whereof Three Charged that Day in the Field: And from the Time he submitted himself to the

Pro-

Profession of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All Distresses he bore like a Common Man, and all Wants and Hardships, as if he had never known Plenty or Ease; most prodigal of his Person to Danger; and would often say, "that if he out-liv'd these Wars he was certain never to have so Noble a Death. So that it is not to be wonder'd, if, upon such a stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a Limb.

It hath been before remembred, that the Marquis of Hertford drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford*, about *Christmas*, near Two Thousand Men, leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry and Inhabitants. After that, North *Wales* lying most convenient to back *Chester* and *Shrewsbury*, which Places, whilst the Enemy was Master of the Field, receiv'd their chief Supplies of Men and Provisions from thence, was committed to the Care of Trusty Persons. In the mean Time, the King having committed South *Wales* to the Charge of the Lord *Herbert*, Eldest Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*, whom he made his Lieutenant General, added *Monmouth-shire* to his Commission.

There were in the Opinion of many great Objections against that Employment being given to that Noble Lord, whose Person many Men lov'd, and very few hated. First, he had no Knowledge or Experience in the Martial Profession; then his Religion being of that Sort of Catholicks the People rendred Odious, by accusing it to be most Jesuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater Brand upon the King of favouring Papists and Popery, that he had been yet reproach'd with. This gave Opportunity to many of Quality and Interest (between whom and that Lord's Family there had been continual Feuds and Animosities) to lessen their Zeal to the King's Cause, out of Jealousie of the others Religion: And those Contentations had been lately improv'd with some sharpness, by the Lord *Herbert's* Carriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Residence there; when out of Vanity to magnifie his own Power he had not shew'd that due Regard to that of the other, which he should have

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have had. But on the other Side, the necessity of disposing those Parts, divided from the rest of the Kingdom, under the Command of some Person of Honour and Interest, was very visible; and the Expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possesst of *Glocester* and *Bristol*, and so having such an Influence upon the Trade and Livelihood of that People, by their absolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary Care of keeping them, they would be quickly Lost. Besides that, at the same Time, there was Discourse in the Houses, of sending the Earl of *Pembroke* thither, whose Estate was very great in those Parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already such Footing in *Pembroke-shire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for them; and the Harbour of *Milford-Haven* gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all Supplies and Relief. This being the State of those Parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offer'd but desired to receive that Command; and engaged himself, not only to secure it from the Opposition of the other Party, but before the Spring, to raise such a Strength of Horse and Foot, and to provide such an Equipage to March with, that might reduce *Glocester*, and be then added to the Kings Army, when he would be ready to take the Field; and all this so much at his own Charge, that he would receive no Part of the King's Revenue, or of such Money, as His Majesty could be able to draw for the supply of his own more immediate Occasions.

The Horse he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerset*, a Maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawly*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and sprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he March'd towards *Glocester*, with an ill Omen at his setting out; for a Rabble of the Country People being got together without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forrest of *Deane*, call'd *Cover*, (through which he was to pass) and refused to give him Entrance; and out of a Window

Window kill'd Colonel *Lawly*, and Two Officers more, without hurting a Common Soldier; whereby that Body was destitute of any Person of Experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himself seldom with his Forces, shortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who without any Skirmish of Importance, march'd through the Forest of *Deane*, and fixed a Quarter, which contain'd his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Bishop of *Glocester's* Palace, within less than half a Mile of *Glocester*. And by that means there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go into *Glocester*, he fully Block'd up the Town on that Side, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirencester*, should take equal Care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good Degree.

But Sir *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horse and Dragoons, near Two Thousand, from the Earl of *Essex's* Army had made a quick March through *Wilt-shire* (after his taking of *Chichester*) and taking with little Loss and Trouble, a small Garrison of the King's at *Malmsbury*, before it was Fortified or Provided, made a Face of looking towards *Cirencester*; where, when he found he was expected, by a sudden Night March, in which he was very Dextrous and Successful, he posted to the River of *Severn*, Six Miles, West of *Glocester*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and in them, in the open Day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherously or Foolishly neglected by the Lord *Herbert's* Forces, transported his whole Body, which upon the Advantage of that Pass, might have been resisted by a few Men. Hereupon the Consternation was so great among the new *Welsh* Soldiers, that though their Works were too good to be enter'd by Horse and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but Narrow, and in all which they had Cannon Planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully equal to the Enemy; they upon the advance of *Waller*, without giving or receiving a Blow, fairly sent out to Treat; and as kindly

*Is surprised
by Sir Will.
Waller,
deli- and Routed.*

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The Fame of this prodigious Victory so subdued all those Parts, that *Waller*, with the same Spirit of Celerity, and attended with the same Success, *Waller* takes Hereford, and flew to *Hereford*; and though a Walled Town, and replenish'd with a Garrison, had that likewise deliver'd to him upon the same Terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more Confidence refused to be admitted into *Worcester*, than he thought reasonable to require it) pass'd to *Tewksbury*, which he likewise surprized, being newly Garrison'd; his Motion being so quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all Diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light Skirmishes; and having taken his Progress, return'd safe to *Glocester*, and from thence to the Earl of *Essex's* Army; having made no other Use of his Conquests, than the dishonouring so many Places which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no One Garrison) the King's Forces immediately enter'd again.

Things Succeeding in this Manner in the Field, its fit we should see now what is become of the Treaty that was intended to be by the Petition of the Parliament to the King, and his Answer: Many Days had indeed past since the Return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford*, with the King's Answer to their Propositions, and no Reply being made by the Houses, but on the contrary, Preparations more vigorously intended for the War, the King, as well to have the Convenience of sending to *London*, (of which Journeys he had made good Use) as to quicken and necessitate them to some Reply, sent another Message to them, putting them in Mind of 'the Proposition he had made for a Cessation of Arms, and desired 'if they approv'd of a Cessation, that the Day upon

upon which they thought fit it should begin, and such Particulars, Limits and Conditions of it, as were necessary to be understood and agreed on, before the Cessation it self could actually begin, might be proposed by them. Since his Majesty said, he supposed by the present great Preparations, of several Forces to March several Ways, that till all that should be agreed upon they did not conceive themselves obliged to an actual Cessation; so neither till then did his Majesty conceive himself obliged to it; however, he wish'd it might be clearly understood between them, that no such Imputations as had been formerly, might be laid upon him, upon occasion of any thing that might intervene.

This Message made them enter again upon the Argument, and gave them who desired most a Peace and Accommodation, an Opportunity to press for the Debate, which had been laid aside for the dispatch of other Matters; so that within few Days, both Houses agreed that there should be a Treaty, in which so much of the King's Propositions as concern'd the Magazines, Forts and Ships, and the Proposition of Both Houses for the Disbanding the Armies, should be first treated on, and concluded, before they Proceeded to treat upon any of the other Propositions; and that the Treaty should begin the Fourth of March, or sooner if it might be; and that from the beginning the Time should not exceed Twenty Days. The Persons they made choice of to treat were the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Say, Mr. Pierrepont, Sir William Armyne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Whitlock, for whose safe Conduct they dispatch'd a Messenger to his Majesty; this Resolution being taken but the Last Day of February. As soon as the Request was presented, the King return'd a safe Conduct for the Earl of Northumberland, and the Four Commoners, but refused to admit the Lord Say to his Presence, his Lordship being Personallly excepted from Pardon by a former Proclamation; but signified, that if they would employ any other Person not within the

Both Houses agree to a Treaty.

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the same Rule, he should as freely come as if he were in the safe Conduct.

Whether the Lord Say was nominated by those who believ'd they should be able upon the Refusal of him (which they could not but foresee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty; or whether they believ'd, they had so far prevail'd by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to perswade the King to yield to what they propos'd, or at least to have engag'd the King to those who would have yielded to him, I know not; but as the Business of the Lord Say was not so insist'd on at *Westminster* as to break the Treaty, so many were of Opinion at *Oxford*, that the King should have admitted him. They said, ' he was a wise Man, and could not but know ' that it would not be possible for him to make ' any Impression upon His Majesty's Judgment in ' the Propositions in Debate; and therefore that ' he would never have suffer'd himself to be design'd to that Negotiation (which without ' Doubt, by his Interest in both Houses, he might ' have prevented) if he did not purpose to do ' some signal Service to His Majesty. And indeed ' many believ'd, that if he had come and found ' the King's Goodness inclin'd to Pardon, and ' trust him, that he would have done the best he ' could to redeem his former Breaches. Others were of Opinion, ' that he was so far from being inclin'd to serve the King, or advance the ' Treaty, that they would have sent him as a ' Spy, lest others should; and these were the ' Thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*. Together with this desire of a safe Conduct, they sent His Majesty Word, ' that they had likewise consented, ' that there should be a Cessation of Arms on either ' Side, under the Restrictions and Limitations hereafter following.

The Two
Houses send
their Terms
for a Cessation.

I. ' That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, passing without such a safe Conduct as may warrant their Passage, may be stay'd and seiz'd

seiz'd on, as if no Cessation was agreed on.

2. ' That all Manner of Persons, passing without such a safe Conduct as is mention'd in the Article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detain'd, as if no such Cessation were agreed on at all.

3. ' That his Majesty's Forces in *Oxford-shire* should advance no nearer to *Windsor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckingham-shire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that in *Berk-shire*, the Forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other than now they are: And that the Parliament Forces in *Oxford-shire* shall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than *Henly*, and those in *Buckingham-shire* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that His Majesty's Forces shall take no new Quarters, above Twelve Miles from *Oxford*, any Way; and the Parliament Forces shall take no new Quarters, above Twelve Miles from *Windsor*, any Way.

4. ' That no Siege shall be begun or continued against *Glocester*; and that His Majesty's Forces, now employ'd in the Siege, shall return to *Cirencester* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as shall be most for their Convenience; and the Parliament Forces which are in *Glocester-shire* shall remain in the Cities of *Glocester*, *Bristol*, and the Castle and Town of *Berkly*, or retire nearer to *Windsor*, as they shall see Cause: And those of *Wales*, which are drawn to *Glocester*, shall return to their Quarters where they were before they drew down to *Glocester-shire*.

5. ' That in Case it be pretended on either Side that the Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility is immediately to follow, but first the Party complaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the other Side, and to allow Three Days after Notice for Satisfaction; and in Case Satisfaction be not given or accepted, then Five Days Notice to be given before Hostility begin, and the like to be observ'd in the remoter Armies by the Commanders in chief.

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6. ' Lastly, That all other Forces, in the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, not before mention'd, shall remain in the same Quarters and Places as they are at the Time of Publishing this Cessation, and under the same Conditions as are mention'd in the Articles before. And that this Cessation shall not extend to restrain the setting forth or employing of any Ships for the Defence of his Majesty's Dominions.

All which they desired 'His Majesty would be pleased to Ratifie and Confirm: And that this Cessation might begin upon the Fourth of *March* next, or sooner if it might be, and continue until the Five and Twentieth of the same Month; and in the mean time to be publish'd on either Side; and that the Treaty might likewise commence upon the same Day, and the continuance thereof not to exceed Twenty Days.

Debates about the Proposals.

These Propositions were deliver'd to His Majesty on the First of *March*, which was almost a Month after the Cessation had been proposed by him, which Administer'd Cause of Doubt that the Overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible that the Cessation could begin so soon as the Fourth, by which Time, though the King should consent to the Terms proposed upon Sight, his Answer could very hardly be return'd to them. But the Articles themselves were such as occasion'd much Debate, and difference of Opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the Examination of them with his Privy Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to consider the Inconvenience his Consent to them might produce to His Party, if that Cessation and Treaty might produce a Peace; and the Inequality in them, if the Overture pass'd from an equal Enemy, according to the Rules of War. Some were of Opinion, 'that the Cessation should be consented to by the King upon the Articles proposed, though they should be thought unequal, not only because it would

would be an Act of great Grace and Compassion to the People, to give them some Respite and Taste of Peace, and the not consenting to it (the Reason not being so easie to be understood) would be as impopular and ungracious; but that they believ'd it would at least cast the People into such a Slumber, that much of their Fury and Madnes would be abated; and that they would not be easily induced to part with the Ease they felt, and would look upon that Party as an Enemy that robbed them of it; that it would give an Opportunity of charitable Inter-course, and revive that Freedom of Conversation, which of it self, upon so great Advantage of Reason, as they believ'd the King's Cause gave, would rectifie the Understanding of many who were misled; but especially that it would not only hinder the Recruit of the Earl of Essex's Army (for that no Men would be so mad to declare themselves against the King, when they saw a Cessation in Order to restoring the King to his Rights) but would lessen the Forces he had already; in that the Army consisted mostly of Men engaged by the Pay, not Affection to the Cause; who, upon such a Remission of Duty as would necessarily attend a Cessation, would abandon a Party which they foresaw upon a Peace must be condemn'd, though it might be secure: And whereas all Overtures of a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon Pretence of being in a Posture not to be contemned, they believ'd a real Cessation would render those Levies impossible.

Others thought any Cessation disadvantageous enough to the King; and therefore that the Terms upon which it was to be made were to be previously look'd to: That the Articles proposed would only produce a Suspension of present Acts of Hostility, and Blood among the Soldiers; but not give the least Taste of Peace, or admit the least Benefit to the People; for that all Intercourse and Conversation was inhibited, insomuch as no Person of the King's Party, though no Soldier, had Liberty to visit his Wife

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or Family out of the King's Quarters during the
 Cessation; and the hindering Recruits could only
 Prejudice the King, not at all the Earl of *Essex*,
 who had at present a greater Army than ever
 before; and the City of *London* was such a Ma-
 gazine of Men as could supply him upon very
 small Warning. Besides, though the State of
 the King's Army and Quarters about *Oxford*
 was such as might receive some Advantage by a
 Cessation, yet in the West it was hoped his
 Affairs were in the Bud; and the Earl of *New-*
castle was so much Master in the North, that if a
 Peace ensued not (which Wise Men did not be-
 lieve was seriously intended on the Parliament's
 Part, by reason the Propositions to be treated on
 were so much unreasonable, and impossible
 to be consented to) such a Cessation would
 hinder the Motion and Progress of the Earl's
 good Fortune, and give Time to the Lord
Fairfax, who was at present very low, to
 put himself into such a Posture as might give new
 Trouble. And 'tis certain the Northern Forces
 had then great Dread of this Cessation. To these
 Considerations was added another of great Moment,
 and which could be less answer'd by any Access of
 Benefit and Advantage on the King's Party. Hither-
 to the Parliament had rais'd their vast Sums of
 Money for the Support of their Army, (which
 could only be supported by constant great Pay) and
 for the Discharge of their other immense Expences,
 incident to such a War from the City of *London*,
 and principally from their Friends, not daring so
 rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but
 contented themselves with some severe Judgments
 upon particular Men, whom they had branded with
 some extraordinary Mark of Malignancy out of *Lon-*
don, save only that they gleaned upon their own
 Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plunder'd
 by their Army, which brought no Supply to their
 Common Stock: And of what they impos'd upon
 Cities and Towns, wherein they had Garrisons (in
 which they had been likewise very tender) they had
 receiv'd very little; not venturing yet, by any Ge-
 neral Tax and Imposition upon the People, to in-
 flame

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flame them, and inform them how they meant to Invade their Liberty and their Property, with the Jealousie whereof they had blown them up to all those Swellings and Seditious Humours against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt that, any Encouragement of Strength from one of the King's Armies would make the whole Kingdom rise against them.

But the Parliament after they had agreed to a Treaty, and fram'd even Articles for a Cessation, pass'd an Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment throughout the Kingdom towards the Support of the War; by which was imposed upon the City of London the weekly Sum of Ten Thousand Pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom a weekly Payment of Thirty Three Thousand Five Hundred and Eighteen Pounds, amounting in the Year to One Million Seven Hundred Forty Two Thousand Nine Hundred Thirty Six Pounds.

An Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment on the whole Kingdom.

For the speedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the same Ordinance, Commissioners in each County, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in their Designs. To which they added other Ordinances, for exacting the Twentieth Part, and other Payments throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in London; and above all, for the Sequestering and Seizing of the Estates of all who adher'd to the King. It was farther urg'd, that 'Now if a Cessation were consented to by the King, on the Articles propos'd, and thereby the King's Forces lock'd up within the several Limits and narrow Bounds, in which they were contain'd, these Ordinances might be Executed throughout all their Quarters, and thereby vast Sums be rais'd. Their great Association of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntington, Bedford and Essex, (in neither of which the King had any visible Party, or one fixed Quarter) upon which the Earl of Newcastle's Advance upon them, kept them from notable Pressures, would by this means yield them a great Supply of Men and Money. In Somerset-shire and Devon-shire, whilst Sir Ralph Hopton might hereby be kept from advancing, they might raise what they

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would, and might dispose of the Stocks and Personal Estates of those whom they had and would declare to be Malignants; and so this Cessation, besides the Damage and Prejudice to the Loyal Party, would probably fill the Rebels Coffers, the Emptiness whereof was the most, if not only, probable Way and Means to determine the War.

These Considerations made a deep Impression upon those who believ'd the Treaty was not like to produce a Peace; the Number of which was increased by a New Resolution, at this time enter'd upon, and vigorously prosecuted, 'to fortifie the

*The City of
London
fortified.*

City of London, and to draw a Line about it; which was executed with wonderous Expedition; which many believ'd would not have been then done, both for the Charge and Jealousie of it, if it had not been resolv'd it should not return to the King's Obedience, And many Persons of Honour and Quality about the King, who had given great Life to his Affairs, were so startled with the Sense of it, that they address'd themselves together to his Majesty, and besought him, 'that they might not lose That now, by an unequal Cessation, which had been preserv'd for them during the Licence of Hostility; and that His and Their Enemies might not be That way enabled to destroy them, which Yet they durst not attempt to do by any Other. The King hereupon, after great Debates in Council, the Chief Officers of his Army being present, resolv'd to make such Alterations in the Articles as might make the Terms appear to him somewhat more equal.

*King's Alteration of
the Parliament's
Articles.*

1. 'To the first Article, as it was proposed by them, his Majesty fully and absolutely consented.

2 'To the second likewise fully as far as it concern'd all Officers and Soldiers of the Army; but He proposed that all other his Subjects pass to and from the Cities of Oxford or London, or any other Parts of his Majesty's Dominions, without any Search, Stay, or Imprisonment of their Persons, or Seizure and Detention of their Goods or Estates: And that all manner of Trade and Commerce might be open and free between the

the Officers and Soldiers of either Army, or for Ammunition, Money, Bullion or Victuals for the use of either Army, without a Pass, or Safe Conduct; which his Majesty told them, ' would be a good beginning to renew the Trade and Correspondence of the Kingdom, and whereby his Subjects might be restored to that Liberty and Freedom they were Born to, and had so happily enjoy'd till these Miserable Distractions; and which, even during this War, his Majesty had, to his utmost, labour'd to preserve, opening the Way, by most strict Proclamations, to the passage of all Commodities, even to the City of London it self.

3, 4, 5, 6, To these the King likewise consented, with Two Provisions: First, ' that such Ships as were necessary to be set forth, should be commanded by such Persons as his Majesty should approve of, Secondly, that during the Cessation none of his Subjects should be Imprison'd otherwise than according to the known Laws of the Land, and that there should be no Plundering or Violence offer'd to any of his Subjects. The first of these was inserted (without Purpose of insisting on it) left by the King's Consent to the Article, in the Terms it was propos'd, he might be thought to consent in any degree to their Usurpation of the Naval Authority. And the second was to prevent the Execution of the Ordinances before-mention'd.

And his Majesty told them, ' he hoped these small Alterations would sufficiently manifest how sollicitous he was for the Good of his People, for whose Liberties he should insist, when, in Matters meerly concerning Himself he might descend to easier Conditions; and how desirous he was, that, in this unnatural Contention, no more Blood of his Subjects might be spilt, upon which he look'd with much Grief, Compassion, and Tenderness of Heart, even on the Blood of those who had lifted up their Hands against him. And therefore he doubted not but Both Houses would consent to them. However, if any Scruples should be made, he was willing that the Com-

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missioners for the Treaty might nevertheless immediately come to him, and so all Matters concerning the Cessation might be there settled between them.

This Answer not pleasing the Parliament, many Days pass'd without any return to the King; and in the mean time another Address was made to his Majesty, upon which the Managers at *London* had set their Hearts more than upon the Treaty; They had still a great Dependence upon, and Confidence in, the *Scots*, and yet they moved very slowly; and since the Earl of *Essex* had been settled in his Winter Quarters, there had been high Quarrel; between the *English* and *Scotch* Officers; infomuch as, upon some reproachful Words which had been cast out, many Swords were one Day drawn in *Westminster-Hall*, when the Houses were sitting, between them, and some Blood drawn, which (though the Houses industriously labour'd to Compose it with Declarations of their Joint Value and Respect of that Nation with their own, and that their Deserts could only distinguish them) gave so great Umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, some of Eminent Command, quitted the Service.

But the General Inclination to War master'd those Particular Considerations and Disobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's Consent to the Grand Proposition for the Extirpation of Episcopacy, there arriv'd at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*; the former came as a Commissioner from the Lords of the Secret Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, the Conservators of the Peace between the Two Kingdoms; and desired to pass as a Mediator in the Differences between the King and the Two Houses, and that the King would give them leave upon the Matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr. *Henderson*, had a Special Employment from the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to present a Petition from that Body to the King; which shall be inserted after we have premised one Thing for the better understanding a clause in it, which is, that when the

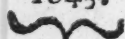
Earl

Earl of *Newcastle* march'd into *York-shire*, upon Oc-
 casion of some Aspersions publish'd against him by
 the Lord *Fairfax* that his Army consisted only
 ' of Papists, and that his Design was to Extirpate the
 ' Protestant Religion, the Earl set forth a Declaration
 of the Reasons of his marching into that Country,
 which was, ' upon the desire of the Principal Gen-
 ' tlemen, to rescue and protect them from
 ' the Tyranny of the Parliament; and then
 taking Notice of ' the Scandalous Imputations
 ' upon him in Point of Religion, after he had vin-
 ' dicated himself from the least Suspicion of Inclina-
 ' tion to Popery, he confess'd ' he had granted Com-
 ' missions to many Papists, which, as He knew,
 ' was, in this case, agreeable to the present Policy;
 ' and that the Quarrel between the King and the
 ' Two Houses being not grounded upon any Matter
 ' of Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to
 ' be of the same of which his Majesty was clear-
 ' ly known to be, and the Papists generally at this
 ' Time appearing very Loyal to him, which too
 ' many Protestants were not, he thought their
 ' Assistance might very fitly be made use of to sup-
 ' press the Rebellion of the other. This indeed others
 as well as the *Scots*, very much disliked in the Earl,
 and they concluded from it, with good Colour of
 Reason, that he preferr'd the Papists, in Point
 of Loyalty, before the Protestants. But to the Petition
 it self.

' Our Silence, and ceasing to present before your
 ' Majesty our humble Thoughts and Desires, at
 ' this Time of Common Danger to Religion,
 ' to your Majesty's Sacred Person, your Crown,
 ' and Posterity, and to all your Majesty's Dominions,
 ' were Impiety against God, Unthankfulness and
 ' Disloyalty against your Majesty, and indirect Ap-
 ' probation and Hardening of the Adversaries of
 ' Truth and Peace in their Wicked Ways, and
 ' Cruelty against Our Brethren, lying in such Depths
 ' of Affliction, and Anguish of Spirit; any one of
 ' which Crimes were, in Us above all others, unex-
 ' cusable, and would prove Us most unworthy of the
 ' Trust committed unto Us. The Flame of this
 ' Common Combustion hath almost Devour'd Ire-
 ' land,

*The Peti-
 tion of the
 General
 Assembly of
 the Kirk of
 Scotland.*

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land,, is now wasting the Kingdom of *England*,
 and We cannot tell how soon it shall enter upon
 Our selves, and set this your Majesty's most An-
 cient and Native Kingdom on Fire, if in this
 Woful Case, and lamentable Condition of your
 Majesty's Dominions, all others should be silent ;
 it behoveth Us to speak ; and if Our Tongues
 and Pens should cease, Our Conscience within us
 would cry out, and the Stones in the Streets would
 Answer Us,

Our Great Grief and Apprehension of Danger
 is not a little encreased, partly by the Insolence and
 Presumption of Papists, and others Disaffected to
 the Reformation of Religion, who, although
 for their Number and Power they be not con-
 siderable among Us, yet through the Success of the
 Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the Hopes they con-
 ceive of the Prevailing Power of Popish Armies,
 and the Prelatical Faction in *England*, they have,
 of late taken a Spirit, and begun to speak Big
 Words against the Reformation of Religion, and
 the Work of God in this Land ; and partly,
 and more principally, that a Chief Praise of the
 Protestant Religion (and thereby our not Vain,
 but Just Gloriation) is, by the Publick Declaration
 of the Earl of *Newcastle*, General of your Majesty's
 Forces for the Northern Parts, and nearest unto us,
 transferr'd unto Papists ; who, although they be
 Sworn Enemies unto Kings, and be as Infamous
 for their Treasons and Conspiracies against Princes
 and Rulers, as for their known Idolatry, and Spi-
 ritual Tyranny, yet are they openly declared to be
 not only Good Subjects, or Better Subjects, but
 Far Better Subjects than Protestants : Which is
 a New and Foul Disparagement of the Reform'd
 Religion, a Notable Injury to your Majesty in
 your Honour, a Sensible Reflection upon the whole
 Body of this Kingdom, which is impatient that
 any Subjects should be more Loyal than They ;
 but abhorreth, and extremely disdaineth, that
 Papists, who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance,
 should be compared with them in Allegiance and
 Fidelity ; and which being a strange Doctrine from
 the Mouth or Pen of Profess'd Protestants will
 suffer

‘ suffer a hard Construction from all the Reform’d
‘ Kirks.

‘ We therefore, your Majesty’s most Humble
‘ and Loving Subjects, upon these and the like Con-
‘ siderations, do humbly entreat that your Majesty
‘ may be pleased, in your princely Wisdom, first to
‘ consider that the Intention of Papists, directed
‘ by the Principles of their Profession, are no other
‘ than they have been from the beginning, even to
‘ build their *Babel*, and to set up their Execrable I-
‘ dolatry and Antichristian Tyranny in all your Ma-
‘ jesty’s Dominions ; to change the Face of your Two
‘ Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, into the
‘ Similitude of Miserable *Ireland* ; which is more
‘ Bitter to the People of God, your Majesty’s good
‘ Subjects, to think upon than Death ; and what-
‘ soever their Pretences be, for the Defence of your
‘ Majesty’s Person and Authority, yet in the end,
‘ by their Arms and Power, with a display’d Ban-
‘ ner, to bring that to pass against your Royal Per-
‘ son and Posterity, which the Fifth of *November*,
‘ never to be forgotten, was not able by their sub-
‘ til and undermining Treason to produce ; or,
‘ which will be their greatest Mercy, to reduce your
‘ Majesty and your Kingdoms, to the Base and
‘ Unnatural Slavery of their Monarch the Pope:
‘ And next, that your Majesty, upon this undenia-
‘ ble Evidence, may timouly and speedily apply your
‘ Royal Authority for disbanding their Forces, sup-
‘ pressing their Power, and disappointing their
‘ Bloody and Merciless Projects.

‘ And for this end, We are with greater Ear-
‘ nestness than before constrain’d to fall down again
‘ before your Majesty, and in all Humility to re-
‘ new the Supplication of the late General Assembly,
‘ and Our own former Petition in Their Name, for
‘ Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Church
‘ Government in all your Majesty’s Kingdoms, and
‘ to this effect, for a meeting of some Divines to be
‘ holden in *England*, unto which, according to the
‘ Desire of your Majesty’s Parliament, some Com-
‘ missioners may be sent from this Kirk ; that, in
‘ all Points to be propos’d and debated, there may
‘ be the greater Consent and Harmony. We take the
‘ Boldness

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“ Boldness to be the more instant in this our humble Desire, because it concerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in His Glory, your Majesty, in your Honour, the Kirk of *England* (which We ought to tender as our own Bowels, and whose Reformation is more Dear unto Us than Our Lives) in Her Happines, and the Kirk of *Scotland* in her Purity and Peace; former Experience, and daily Sense teaching Us, that without the Reformation of the Kirk of *England* there is no Hope or Possibility of the continuance of Reformation Here.

“ The Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose Vicegerent your Majesty is, calleth for this great Work of Reformation at your Hands, and the present Commotions and Troubles of your Majesty's Dominions are either a Preparation, in the Mercy of God, for this Blessed Reformation and Unity of Religion (which is the Desire, Prayers and Expectation of all her Majesty's good Subjects in this Kingdom) or, which they tremble to think upon, and earnestly deprecate, are (in the Justice of God, for the Abuse of the Gospel, the Tolerating of Idolatry and Superstition against so clear a Light, and not Acknowledging the Day of Visitation) the beginning of such a doleful Desolation, as no Policy or Power of Man shall be able to prevent, and as shall make your Majesty's Kingdoms within a short time as miserable as they may be happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid that whilst the House of Parliament do profess their Desire of the Reformation of Religion in a Peaceable and Parliamentary Way, and pass their Bills for that End in the Particulars, that your Majesty, the Nurse-Father of the Kirk of Christ, to whose Care the Custody and Vindication of Religion doth principally belong, should, to the provoking of the Anger of God, the stopping of the Influence of so many Blessings from Heaven, and the grieving of the Hearts of all the Godly, frustrate our Expectation, make our Hopes ashamed, and hazard the Loss of the Hearts of all your good Subjects; which, next unto the Truth and Unity of Religion, and the Safety

‘ Safety of your Kingdoms, are willing to hazard
‘ their Lives, and spend their Blood, for your Ma-
‘ jesty’s Honour and Happiness.

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‘ We are not ignorant that the Work is great, the
‘ Difficulties and Impediments many ; and that
‘ there be both Mountains and Lions in the Way ;
‘ the strongest Let, till it be taken out of the Way,
‘ is in the Mountain of Prelacy : And no wonder,
‘ if your Majesty consider how many Papists and
‘ Popishly-affected have for a long time found Peace
‘ and Ease under the shadow thereof ; how many
‘ of the Prelatical Faction have thereby their Life
‘ and Being ; how many Prophane and Worldly
‘ Men do fear the Yoke of Christ, and are unwill-
‘ ling to submit themselves to the Obedience of the
‘ Gospel ; how many there be whose Eyes are
‘ dazzled with the External Glory and Pomp of the
‘ Kirk ; whose Minds are miscarried with a Con-
‘ ceit of the Kirk by the Rules of Humane Policy ;
‘ and whose Hearts are affrighted with the Appre-
‘ hensions of the dangerous Consequences which
‘ may ensue upon Alterations. But when your Ma-
‘ jesty in your Princely and Religious Wisdom shall
‘ remember from the Records of former Times,
‘ how against the Gates of Hell, the Force and
‘ Fraud of Wicked and Worldly Men, and all Pa-
‘ nick Fears of Danger, the Christian Religion was
‘ first planted, and the Christian Kirk thereafter
‘ reform’d : And, from the Condition of the pre-
‘ sent Times, how many, from the Experience of
‘ the Tyranny of the Prelates, are afraid to discover
‘ themselves, lest They be revenged upon them
‘ hereafter, (whereas Prelacy being remov’d they
‘ would openly profess what they are, and join
‘ with others in the Way of Reformation) all Ob-
‘ stacles and Difficulties shall be but Matter of the
‘ Manifestation of the Power of God, the Principal
‘ Worker, and Means of the greater Glory to your
‘ Majesty, the Prime Instrument.

‘ The Intermixture of the Government of Prelates
‘ with the Civil State, mention’d in your Majesty’s
‘ Answer to Our former Petition, being taken a-
‘ way, and the Right Government by Assemblies,
‘ which is to be seen in all the Reform’d Kirks, and
‘ wherein

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wherein the Agreement will be easie, being settled, the Kirk and Religion will be more pure, and free from Mixture, and the Civil Government more sound and firm. That Government of the Kirk must suit best with the Civil State, and be most useful for Kings and Kingdoms, which is best warranted by God, by whom Kings do reign, and Kingdoms are establish'd, Nor can a Reformation be expected in the Common and Ordinary Way, express'd also in your Majesty's Answer. The Wisest and most Religious Princes have found it impossible, and implying a Repugnancy, since the Persons to be Reform'd, and Reformers, must be diverse; and the Way of Reformation must be different from the corrupt Way, by which Defection of Workmen, and in Doctrine, Worship and Government, have enter'd into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore, Dread Sovereign, to renew our Petitions for this Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk Government, and for a Meeting of some Divines of both Kingdoms, who may prepare Matters for your Majesty's View, and for the Examination and Approbation of more full Assemblies. The National Assembly of this Kirk, from which We have Our Commission, did promise in their Thanksgiving for the many Favours express'd in your Majesty's Letter, their best Endeavour to keep the People under their Charge in Unity, and Peace, and in Loyalty, and Obedience to your Majesty and your Laws, which We confess is a Duty well befitting the Preachers of the Gospel.

But We cannot conceal how much both Pastors and People are griev'd and disquieted with the late Reports of the Success, Boldness and Strength of Popish Forces in *Ireland* and *England*; and how much Danger, from the Power of so Malicious and Bloody Enemies, is apprehended to the Religion and Peace of this Kirk and Kingdom, conceiv'd by them to be the Spring, whence have issued all their Calamities and Miseries. Which We humbly remonstrate to your Majesty as a Necessity requiring a General Assembly, and do earnestly

nestly supplicate for the Presence and Assistance of your Majesty's Commissioner, and the Day to be appointed; that by universal Consent of the whole Kirk, the best Course may be taken for the Preservation of Religion, and for the averting of the great Wrath, which they conceive to be Imminent to this Kingdom. If it shall please the Lord, in whose Hand is the Heart of the Kings as the Rivers of Waters, to turn it whithersoever he will, to incline your Majesty's Heart to the thorough Reformation; no more to tolerate the Mass, or any Part of Romish Superstition or Tyranny; and to command that all good Means be used for the Conversion of your Princely Consort, the Queen's Majesty (which is also the Humble Desire of this whole Kirk and Kingdom) your joint Comforts shall be multiplied above the Days of your Affliction, to your incredible Joy; your Glory shall shine in Brightness above all your Royal Progenitors, to the Admiration of the World, and the Terror of your Enemies: And your Kingdoms so far abound in Righteousness, Peace and Prosperity, above all that have been in former Generations, that they shall say, *It is good for Us that We have been afflicted.*

This Petition was no sooner presented to the King than it was sent to *London* and Printed, and communicated to the People, that they might see how far the *Scottish* Nation would be engaged for the Destruction of the Church; and the Messenger who presented it, Mr *Henderson*, my Lord *Cl——* says, confessed to His Majesty, that he had Three or Four Letters to the most Active and Seditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the same Spirit in *Scotland*; upon which Provocation, the King might have very reasonably proceeded against him, who was neither included in his safe Conduct, (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest of the Commissioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large Powers) to countenance his Employment; being sent only from the Commissioners of the General Assembly (who were not authorised by their own Constitutions to make any such Declaration,

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His Ma-
jesty's An-
swer to the
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tion) and there being then no Assembly sitting; which it self, with all their Priviledges, could not with any Colour of Reason or Authority have transacted such an Instrument. However the King, who well knew the Interest and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom; Resolv'd, not only to use the Person of Mr. *Henderson* very favourably but to return an Answer to the Petition it self; and so, before he enter'd upon the other Address, made by the Lord *Lowden* and the rest, he return'd to Mr. *Henderson*, and with all Expedition, by other Hands, into *Scotland* an Answer, to this Effect.

That he receiv'd lately a Petition from them by the Hands of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, to the which he intended to have given an Answer, as soon as he had transacted the Business with the other Commissioners, address'd to him from the Conservators of the Treaty of that our Kingdom. But that finding the same to be publish'd in Print, and to be dispersed throughout his Kingdom, to the great Danger of scandalizing of his well affected Subjects, who might interpret the Bitterness and Sharpness of some Expressions, not to be so agreeable to that Regard and Reverence which was due to his Person, and the Matter of the Petition it self to be reproachful to the Honour and Constitution of that Kingdom; He had been compell'd the more strictly to examine well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the Matter of the Petition it self, and to publish his Opinion of both; that His Subjects of both Kingdoms might see how equally just and sensible he was of the Laws and Honour of both his Kingdoms. And first, upon Perusal of the Petition, he required to see the Commission by which the Messenger who brought the Petition, or the Persons who sent him, were qualified to intermeddle in Affairs so foreign to their Jurisdiction, and of so great Concernment to this his Kingdom of *England*. Upon examination whereof, and in Defence of the Laws and Government of his Kingdom, which he was Truſted and Sworn to defend, he must profess that the Petitioners, or the General Assembly of his Church of *Scotland*, had not the least Authority or Power to intermeddle or interpose in the

the Affairs of this Kingdom, or Church; which were settled and were establish'd by the proper Laws of this Land, and, till they were alter'd by the same competent Power, could be inveighed against without a due Sense of him and This Nation; much less could they present any Advice or Declaration to his Houses of Parliament against the same; or, to that Purpose, send any Letters, as they had now done, to any Ministers of the Church here; who, by the Laws of this Land, could not correspond against the same. Therefore he did believe that the Petitioners, when they should consider how unwarranted it was by the Laws of that Kingdom, and how contrary it was to the Laws of This, to the professions they had made to each other, and how unbecoming in it self, for Them to require the Ancient, Happy, and Establish'd Government of the Church of *England* to be alter'd and conform'd to the Laws and Constitutions of another Church, would find themselves misled by the Information of some Persons here, who would willingly engage the Petitioners to foment a Difference and Division between the Two Kingdoms, which he had with so much Care and Industry endeavour'd to prevent; not having labour'd more to quench the Combustion in this Kingdom, than he had to hinder the like from either devouring *Ireland*, or entering into *Scotland*; which if all others would equally labour would undoubtedly be avoided. But he could not so pass over the Mention of *Ireland*, being moved to it by the Scandalous Aspersions, that had been often cast upon him upon that Subject, and the use that had been made of the woful Distractions of that Kingdom, as of a Seminary of Fears and Jealousies, to beget the like Distractions in This; which lest they might have farther Influence, he was the more willing to make his Innocence appear in that Particular.

That when first that Horrid Rebellion begun he was in his Kingdom of *Scotland*; and the sense he had then of it, the Expressions he made concerning it, the Commissions, together with some other

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Assistance, he sent immediately into that Kingdom,
 and the instant Recommendation he made of it to
 Both his Houses of Parliament in *England*, were
 known to all Persons of Quality there and then
 about him. That after his return into *England*, his
 ready concurring to all the Desires of Both Houses,
 that might most speedily repress that Rebellion, by
 passing the Bill of Pressing, and in it a Clause, which
 quitted a Right challenged by all, and enjoyed by many
 of his Predecessors, by parting with his Rights
 in the Lands Escheated to him by that Rebellion for
 the Encouragement of Adventurers; by emptying
 his Magazines of Arms and Ammunition for that
 Service (which he had since needed for his necessary
 Defence and Preservation) by consenting
 to all Bills for the Raising of Money for the same,
 though containing unusual Clauses, which trusted
 Both Houses without him with the Manner of
 disposing it : His often pressing Both Houses not to
 neglect that Kingdom, by being diverted by Considerations
 and Disputes, less concerning Both
 Kingdoms : His offer of raising Ten Thousand
 Voluntiers to be sent thither ; and his several
 Offers to engage his own Royal Person in the
 Suppression of that Horrid Rebellion, were no less
 known to all this Nation, than his perpetual
 Earnestness, by his Foreign Ministers, to keep all
 manner of Supplies from being transported for the
 Relief of the Rebels was known to several Neighbouring
 Princes ; which if all good Subjects would
 consider, and withal how many of the Men, and
 how much of the Money raised for that End, and
 how much Time, Care and Industry, had been
 diverted from that Employment, and employed
 in this unnatural War against him (the true
 Cause of the present Miseries and Want, which
 his *British* Armies there now endured) they would
 soon free him from all those Imputations, so
 scandalously and groundlessly laid upon him ; and
 impute the Continuance of the Combustion of
 that Miserable Kingdom, the Danger it might
 bring upon his Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*,
 and the beginning of this doleful Desolation, to
 those who were truly Guilty of it.

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‘ For Unity in Religion, which was desired, he could not but Answer that he much apprehended, lest the Papists might make some Advantage of that Expression, by continuing that Scandal with more Authority, which they had ever heretofore used to cast upon the Reformation, by interpreting all the Difference in Ceremony, Government, or indifferent Opinions between several Protestant Churches, to be Differences in Religion; and lest his good Subjects of *England*, who had ever esteem’d themselves of the same Religion with them, should suspect themselves to be esteem’d by them to be of a Contrary; and that the Religion which they and their Ancestors had held ever since the Blessed Reformation, and in and for which they were resolv’d to die, was taxed, and branded of Falshood, or Insufficiency, by such a Desire.

‘ For Uniformity in Church Government, he conceiv’d the Answer formerly given by him at *Bridgenorth*, *October 13. 1642* (to the former Petition in this Argument,) would have satisfied the Petitioners; and was so full that he could add little to it; viz. That the Government here establish’d by the Laws, had so near a Relation and Intermixture with the Civil State, (which might be unknown to the Petitioners) that till a composed digested Form were presented to him upon free Debate of Both Houses in a Parliamentary Way, whereby the Consent and Approbation of the Whole might be had, and he and all his Subject might discern what was to be left in, or brought in, as well as what was to be taken away, he knew not how to consent to any Alteration, otherwise than to such an Act for the Ease of Tender Consciences in the Matter of Ceremonies, as he had often offer’d; and that this, and any thing else that might concern the Peace of the Church, and the Advancement of God’s True Religion, might be soberly discussed, and happily effected, he had formerly offer’d, and was still willing, that Debates of that Nature might be enter’d into by a Synod of Godly and Learned Divines, to be regularly chosen according to the Laws and Customs

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of this Kingdom : To which he should be willing that some Learned Divines of his Church of *Scotland* might be likewise sent, to be present, and offer, and debate their Reasons. That with this Answer the Petitioners had great Reason to acquiesce, without enlarging the Matter of their former Petition, only bitter Expressions against the Establish'd Government and Laws of their Neighbour Nation, (as if it were contrary to the Word of God) with whom they had so lately enter'd into a strict Amity and Friendship.

But that he could not wonder, that the Petitioners should interpose themselves, not only as fit Directors and Judges between him and his Two Houses of Parliament, in Business so wholly concerning the Peace and Government of this his Kingdom, and in a Matter so absolutely entrusted to him as what new Laws to consent, or not to consent to ; but should assume, and publish, that the Desire of Reformation in this Kingdom was in a Peaceable, and Parliamentary Way ; when all the World might know, that the Proceedings Here had been, and were not only contrary to all the Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments, but destructive to the Freedom, Privilege and Dignity of Parliaments themselves : That he was first driven by Tumults, for the Safety of his Life, from his Cities of *London*, and *Westminster* ; and had been since pursued, fought withal, and was now kept from thence by an Army, raised and paid, as was pretended, by the Two Houses, which consist'd not of the Fourth Part of the Number they ought to do ; the rest being either driven from thence by the same Violence, or expelled, or imprison'd, for not consenting to the Treasons and unheard of Insolencies practiced against him ; and if the Petitioners could believe these Proceedings to be in a Peaceable and Parliamentary Way, they were very much unacquainted with the Order and Constitution of his Kingdom, and not so fit Instruments to promote the Reformation and Peace they seem'd to desire.

That he could not believe the Intermixture of the present Ecclesiastical Government with the
 , Civil

‘ Civil State to be other than a very good Reason;
‘ and that the Government of the Church should be
‘ by the Rules of Human Policy, to be other than a
‘ very good Rule, unless some other Government
‘ were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better
‘ warranted by the Word of God.

‘ That if any Bills offer’d to him for Reformation,
‘ he should not now speak, they being a Part of
‘ those Articles upon which he had offer’d and ex-
‘ pected to treat: But he could not but wonder by
‘ what Authority they prejudice his Judgment herein,
‘ by denouncing God’s Anger upon him, and his Ha-
‘ zard of the Loss of the Hearts of all his good Sub-
‘ jects, if he consented not unto them. That the
‘ Influence of so many Blessings from Heaven upon the
‘ Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and his Father of Bles-
‘ sed Memory, and the Acknowledgement of Them
‘ by all Protestant Churches, to have been careful
‘ Nurses of the Church of Christ, and to have excel-
‘ lently discharged their Duties in the Custody and
‘ Vindication of Religion, and the Affect on of their
‘ Subjects to them, did sufficiently assure him that
‘ he should neither stop the Influence of such Bles-
‘ sings, nor grieve the Hearts of all the Godly, nor
‘ hazard the Loss of the Hearts of his Good Sub-
‘ jects, although he still maintain’d in this King-
‘ dom the same establish’d Ecclesiastical Govern-
‘ ment which flourish’d in Their Times, and under
‘ Their Special Protection. That he doubted not but
‘ his Subjects of *Scotland* would rest abundantly sa-
‘ tisfied with such Alterations in their own Church,
‘ as he had assented unto; and not be pertwaded by
‘ a meer Assertion, that there was no hope of Con-
‘ tinuance of what was there settled by Law, unless
‘ that were likewise alter’d which was settled here.
‘ And that his Subjects of *England* would never de-
‘ part from their dutiful Affection to him for not
‘ consenting to new Laws, which by the Law of the
‘ Land they knew he might as justly reject, if he
‘ approved not of them, as Either House had Power
‘ to prepare for, or Both to propound to him. Nor
‘ were they a little mistaken, if either they believ’d
‘ the Generality of this Nation to desire a Change of
‘ Church-Government, or that most of those who
‘ desir’d

desired it, desired by it to introduce that which they only esteem'd a Reformation; but were as unwilling to submit to what they call'd the Yoke of Christ, and Obedience to the Gospel, as those whom they call'd Prophane and Worldly Men; and so equally averse both to Episcopacy and Presbytery, that if they should prevail in this Particular, the Abolition of the One would be no Inlet to the Other; nor would their Hearts be less griev'd, their Expectations less frustrated, their Hopes less ashamed, or their Reformation more secured. And that the Petitioners, upon due Consideration, would not find themselves less mistaken in the Government of all the Reform'd Churches, which, they said, was by Assemblies, than they were in the best Way of Reformation; which sure was best to be in a Common and Ordinary Way, where the Passion or Interest of particular Men might not impose upon the Publick; but Alteration be then only made, when, upon calm Debates, and evident and clear Reason, and Convenience, the same should be generally consented to for the Peace and Security of the People; and those who were trusted by the Law with such Debates were not divested of that Trust upon a General Charge of Corruptions, pretended to have enter'd by that Way; being the Persons to be Reform'd, and so unfit to be Reformers. And that certainly the like Logick, with the like Charge and Pretences, might be used to make the Parliament it self an incapable Judge of any Reformation, either in Church or State.

That for the general Expressions in the Petition against Papists, in which the Petitioners might be understood to Charge him with Compliance, and even Favour to their Opinions, he had taken all Occasions to publish to the World his Practice and Resolution in the True Protestant Reform'd Religion: And he was verily perswaded there was no One Subject in either of his Dominions, who at all knew him, and had observ'd his Life, but was in his Soul satisfied of his constant Zeal and unmoveable Affection to that Religion, and of

of his true Dislike of, and hearty Opposition to Popery. And that he willingly consented, at his being in *Scotland*, to all Acts proposed to him for the discountenancing and the reforming the Papists in that his Kingdom; so by his Proclamation for the putting of all Laws severely in execution against Recusants; and by not refusing any one Bill, presented to him to that Purpose, in this Kingdom; and by his perpetual and publick Professions of readiness, with the Advice of his Two Houses of Parliament, prepared for him in a deliberate and orderly Way, to find some Expedient to perfect so good a Work, he conceiv'd he had not left it possible for any Man to believe him Guilty of tolerating any Part of the Romish Tyranny or Superstition; or to suspect that the Conversion of his dearest Consort was not so much his Desires that the Accession of as many Crowns as God had already bestow'd on him would not be more welcome to him than that Day: A Blessing which it was his daily Prayer to the Almighty to bestow upon him.

But that he might well have expected from the Petitioners, who had in their Solemn National Covenant literally sworn so much Care of the Safety of his Person, and could but know in how much Danger That had been, and still was by the Power and Threats of Rebellious Armies, that they would as well have remember'd the 23d of *October* as the 5th of *November*; and as well have taken Notice of the Army raised, and led against him by the Earl of *Essex*, which had actually Assaulted, and endeavour'd to Murther him; which he knew to abound in Brownists, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries; and in which he had Reason (by Prisoners he had taken, and the Evidence they had given) to believe there were many more Papists (and many of those Foreigners) than in all his Army; had advised him to disband out of the Army of the Earl of *New-castle*, which was raised for his Defence, the Papists in that Army, who were known to be no such Number, as to endanger their obtaining any Power of building Their *Babel*, and setting up Their Idolatry; and whose Loyalty he had reason

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to commend (though he was never suspected for favouring their Religion) not before that of Protestants, but of such Rebels under that Title; and whose Assistance was as due by the Law of God and Man, to rescue him from Domestick Rebellion, as to defend him from Foreign Invasion; which he thought no Man deny to be lawful for them to do. But he did solemnly declare and promise that God should no sooner free him from the Desperate and Rebellious Arms taken up against him but he should endeavour to free himself and Kingdom from any Fear of Danger from the other, by disarming them according to the Laws of this Land; as he should not fail to send his Commissioner to the Assembly at the Time appointed for it by the Laws of Scotland.

To conclude, he desir'd and requir'd the Petitioners (as became Good and Pious Preachers of the Gospel) to use their utmost Endeavours, to compose any Distraction in Opinions or Misunderstandings, which might by the Faction of some turbulent Persons, be raised in the Minds of his good Subjects of that his Kingdom; and to infuse into them a true Sense of Charity, Obedience and Humility, the great Principles of the Christian Religion, that they might not suffer themselves to be transported with Things that they did not understand, or think themselves concern'd in the Government of another Kingdom, because it was not according to the Customs of that in which They liv'd, but that they dispos'd themselves with Modesty and Devotion to the Service of Almighty God, with Duty and Affection to the Obedience of him and his Laws, (remembering the singular Grace, Favour and Benignity he had always express'd to that his Native Kingdom) and with Brotherly and Christian Charity one towards another: And he doubted not but God in his Mercy to him and them would make them Instruments of his Blessings upon each other, and Both of them in a great Measure of Happiness and prosperity, to the whole Nation.

London, and the other Lay-Commissioners, who were Persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality,

Quality, gave the Precedence to this Petition, which they call'd Matter of Religion ; and press'd not their own Commission till the King had declared and publish'd his Answer to the other ; and though they pretended not to have any Authority to say any thing in that Engagement of the Commissioners of the Assembly, yet *Lowden* used all Importunity and Arguments to perswade the King in private, to consent to the Alteration of the Government of the Church ; assuring him, ' That it would be a Means ' not only to hinder his Subjects of *Scotland* from ' adhering to the Parliament, but that it would ' oblige them to assist his Majesty to the utmost in ' the Vindication of all his Rights. But the King was to pertinaciously fixed to be sway'd in that point, so that his Lordship then betook himself with his Companions to their own proper and avow'd Errand, which consisted of Two Parts: The One to offer ' the Mediation of the Conservators of the ' Peace of that Kingdom, for the Composure of the ' Difference between the King and the Two Houses; the Other, ' to desire his Majesty that he would ' send out his Precepts to Summon a Parliament in ' *Scotland*. These Desires, and any Arguments to inforce them, they always deliver'd to the King himself in writing ; declining any Address to his Ministers, or any Debates with his Council, lest it might seem to lessen the Grandeur and Absoluteness of the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought those Papers which he receiv'd from them to his Council, and receiv'd Their Advice what Answers to return. For the first, of Mediation, they pretended a Title and Obligation to it ; by a Clause in the Act of Pacification made at the beginning of this Parliament ; which Clause was ; ' That the ' Peace to be then establish'd might be inviolably ' observ'd in all Time to come, it was agreed, that ' some should be appointed by his Majesty, and the ' Parliaments of Both Kingdoms, who, in the interim betwixt the sitting of the Parliaments, might ' be careful that the Peace then happily concluded, ' might be continued ; and who should endeavour ' by all Means to prevent all Troubles and Divisions ; and if any Debate and Difference should happen

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to arise, to the Disturbance of the Common Peace, they should labour to remove or compose them, according to their Power; it being supposed that for all their Proceedings of this Kind they should be answerable to the King's Majesty and the Parliament; and if any thing should fall out that should be above their Power, and could not be remedied by them, they should inform themselves in the Particulars, and represent the same to the King's Majesty, and the ensuing Parliament; that, by their Wisdoms and Authority, all Occasions and Causes of Troubles might be removed, and the Peace of the Kingdom might be perpetual to all Posterity. And it was declared, that the Power of the Commission should be restrain'd to the Articles of Peace in that Treaty.

This Clause, and the whole Statute, being perused and examined before his Majesty in his Council, the King return'd an Answer to them in Writing.

*The King's
Answer to
the Scottish
Commission-
ers.*

That He could not find any Colour or Pretence of Authority to be granted by that Act of Parliament, by which the Commissioners for *Scotland* could conceive themselves interess'd in a Faculty of Mediation; that the Clause mention'd by them (besides that there was no such Commission granted as was mention'd in that Clause, nor any Commissioners named for those Purposes) related only to the Difference that might grow between the Two Nations; and only upon the Articles of that Treaty, which his Majesty said had been and should be inviolably observ'd by him. That the Differences between his Majesty, and his Two Houses of Parliament, had not the least Relation to the Peace between the Two Kingdoms, but to his unquestionable and long enjoyed Rights, which his Rebellious Subjects endeavour'd by Force to wrest from him; and concerning the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as they could not be supposed to be known to the Conservators of the Peace of *Scotland*, so they could not have any possible Cognizance of them. That it might give great Umbrage to his Subjects of *England* if he should consent to what they now pro-

‘ proposed ; and, instead of confirming and continuing the Peace, breed Jealousies between the Nations ; and therefore he could not admit of any such Mediations as they proposed ; but that he hoped the Treaty, which he now expected, would beget so good Understanding between Him and his Two Houses, that a Peace might ensue ; towards which he would expect nothing from his Subjects of *Scotland* but their Prayers.

When they perceiv’d that they should not receive Satisfaction in either of their Proposals, they desired the Kings Leave, and Pass to go to *London*, having, as they said, some Business there before their Return into their own Countrey ; which the King expressly denied them, and his safe Conduct, and required them, ‘ since he had denied to consent to that which could be the only Ground of their going to *London*, that they should first return to those that sent them, before they attempted that Journey ; if they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of Persons whom his Majesty would not countenance with his Protection.

Whilst this was in Agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Sir *W. Armyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, came to *Oxford*, who shortly took Notice of the *Scottish* Commissioners desires, and also desired on their behalf, ‘ that they might have his Majesty’s Leave to go to *London* ; but being quickly answer’d, ‘ that that Request would not fall within either of the Propositions agreed to be Treated of, they modestly gave over the Intercession ; and in the End, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Countreymen, return’d directly to *Scotland*.

As soon as the Committee arriv’d at *Oxford*, his Majesty always giving them Audience in Council, and they withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilst their Proposals, which they still deliver’d in Writing, were consider’d and debated before the King. They declared, ‘ that they were first to Treat of the Cessation, and till that was concluded, that they were not to enter upon any of the other Propositions ; with which his Majesty

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Majesty was well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had Power to give Consent to the Articles proposed by him; which he rather believ'd when they read the Preamble to the Articles, in which it was declared, ' That the Lords and Commons being still carried on with a Vehement Desire of Peace, that so the Kingdom might be freed from the Desolation and Destruction wherewith it was like to be overwhelm'd, had consider'd of the Articles of Cessation with those Alterations and Additions, offer'd by his Majesty, unto which they were ready to agree in such Manner as was express'd in the ensuing Articles. After which were incerted the Articles as they had been first sent to the King, without any Alteration or Addition made by him; neither had the Committee, according to my Lord Cl——, Power to Recede or Consent to any Alteration, but only to publish it, if the King consented in Terms, and then, and not till then, to proceed to Treat upon the other Propositions. The which, he says, the King look'd upon as an Ill Omen, and other Men as a plain Contempt and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a Treaty and Cessation; yet by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate both, and to cast the Envy of it upon the King. Hereupon the next Day the King sent a Message to them, which he published to undeceive the People; farther pressing ' the Weight and Consequence of his former Exceptions and Alterations; and the Inconvenience that proceeded from not granting their Committee Power to alter so much as Verbal Expressions; so that if the King should Consent to the Articles as they were proposed, he should not only submit to great Disadvantages; but such as themselves would not think Reasonable to Oblige him to; as by that Article wherein they reserv'd a Power to send out a Fleet, or what Ships they thought good, to Sea, they were not at all restrain'd from sending what Land Forces they pleased to any Part of the Kingdom; so that when the Cessation ended, they might have New and Greater Armies throughout the Kingdom than they had when it

it begun; which he presumed they did not intend, being a Thing so unequal, and contrary to the Nature of a Cessation. Then in the Articles they last sent they stiled their Forces, the Army raised by the Parliament, the which if his Majesty should Consent to, he must acknowledge either that he consented to the raising that Army, or that he was no Part of the Parliament; neither of which he conceiv'd they would oblige him to do, and therefore he desired that their Committee might have Liberty to Treat, Debate and Agree upon the Articles, upon which they and all the World should find that he was less Solicitous for his own Dignity and Greatness, than for his Subjects Ease and Liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal and just Desire of his, should not be yielded unto, but the same Articles still insisted upon, though his Majesty, next to Peace, desired a Cessation, yet, that the not agreeing upon the One might not destroy the Hopes of, nor so much as delay the Other, he was willing to Treat, even without a Cessation, upon the Propositions themselves, in that Order that was agreed; and desired their Committee might be enabled to that Effect. In which Treaty he would give, he said, all his Subjects that Satisfaction, that if any Security to enjoy all the Rights, Priviledges and Liberties due to them by the Law, or that Happiness in Church and State, which the best Times had seen, with such farther Acts of Grace as might agree with his Honour, Justice and Duty to his Crown, and which might not render him less able to protect his Subjects, according to his Oath, would satisfy them, his Majesty was confident in the Mercy of God that no more Precious Blood of this Nation would be miserably spent.

Mr. *Whitlock* says, that the King in this Treaty manifested his great Parts, and Abilities, Strength of Reason, and Quickness of Apprehension, with much Patience, in hearing what was Alledged against him, and would himself Sum up the Arguments, and give a most clear Judgment upon them: But his unhappiness was, that he had a better

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Parliament's Reasons against consenting to a Cessation in the King's Way.

better Opinion of other Mens Judgments than his own, tho' they were Weaker, and of this the Parliament Commissioners had Experience to their great Trouble: That they were often waiting upon the King, and debating some Points of the Treaty with him, until Midnight before they could come to a Conclusion; and that having upon one of the most Material Points pressed his Majesty with their Reasons and best Arguments, He answered, he was fully satisfied; and promised to give them his Answer in Writing, according to their Desire: But that it being too late, for he would have it drawn up next Morning; but instead of that, and to their great Surprise, he gave them a Paper quite contrary to what was agreed on, telling them withal, that he had alter'd his Mind, and that the Paper which he now gave them was his Answer. However, it were the King's Message beforementioned, produced Liberty to the Committee to enter upon the Treaty itself, upon the Propositions, though the Cessation should not be agreed to: And shortly after they sent Reasons to the King why they consented not to the Cessation in such Manner, and with those Limitations as he had proposed. 1. They alledged, that if they should grant such a Free Trade as the King desired to Oxford, and other Places, where his Forces lay, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to keep Arms, Ammunition, Money and Bullion, from passing to his Army: However, it would be exceeding advantageous to his Majesty, in supplying his Army with many Necessaries, and making their Quarters a Staple for such Commodities, as might be vented in the adjacent Countries; and so draw Money thither; whereby the Inhabitants would be better enabled by Loans and Contributions, to support his Army. As this Advantage to him was very Demonstrable, so it was very Improbable that it would produce any Supply to them; and in a Treaty for Cessation those Demands could not be thought Reasonable that were not indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to both Parties. 2. That to demand the

appro

approving the Commanders of the Ships, was to desire to add the Strength of the one Party to the other before the Differences were ended, against all Rules of Treaty. And to make a Cessation at Sea, was to leave the Kingdom naked to Foreign Forces, and the Ports open for his Supplies of Arms and Ammunition. But for conveying any Forces by those Means from one Part to the other, they would observe the Articles by which that was restrain'd. 3. For the Expression of the Army raised by the Parliament, they were contented it should be alter'd, and the Name of the Two Houses used. 4. For the committing none but according to the known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordinary Process of Law, it would follow that no Man must be committed by them for supplying the King with Arms, Money or Ammunition; for by the Law of the Land the Subject might carry such Goods from London to Oxford: The Soldiers must not be committed who do run from their Colours, and refuse any Duty in the Army; no Man should be committed for not submitting to necessary Supplies of Money: So that if it should be yielded to, in his Majesty's Sense they should be disabled to restrain Supplies from their Enemies, and to Govern and Maintain their own Soldiers; and so, under a disguise of a Cessation, should admit that which would necessarily produce the Dissolving of their Army, and Destruction of their Cause. And they said, 'it was not probable that his Majesty would suffer the same Inconveniences by that Clause; for that they believ'd he would Interpret, that what his General did by Virtue of his Commission, was and would be done according to the known Laws of the Land; whereas he had denied that those known Laws gave any Power to the Two Houses of Parliament to raise Arms; and so consequently their General could not Exercise any Martial Laws. So that under the Specious Shew of Liberty and Law, they should be altogether disabled to defend their Liberties and Laws, and his Majesty would enjoy an Absolute Victory,

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‘ Victory and Submission, under pretence of a
 ‘ Cessation and Treaty. They said, being by a
 ‘ Necessity inevitable, enforced to a Defensive War,
 ‘ and therein warranted both by the Laws of
 ‘ God and Man, it must needs follow, that by the
 ‘ same Law they were enabled to raise Means to
 ‘ support that War; and therefore they could
 ‘ not Relinquish that Power of laying Taxes up-
 ‘ on those who ought to join with them in that
 ‘ Defence, and the necessary Way of levying those
 ‘ Taxes upon them, in Case of Refusal; for
 ‘ otherwise their Army must needs be dis-
 ‘ solv’d.

These Reasons were such, that the King’s
 not consenting to the Cessation, as it was propo-
 sed by them; would be generally thought to have
 rejected any, which could not but have an ill
 Influence upon his Affairs: And therefore his
 Majesty sent them an Answer, in which he en-
 deavoured to explain the ill Consequence of ma-
 ny of their Assumptions, and enforced the Impor-
 tance of his former Demands, on the Behalf of
 the People; however, he offer’d ‘ to admit the
 ‘ Cessation upon the Matter of their own Arti-
 ‘ cles; so that he might not be understood to Con-
 ‘ sent to any of those Unjust and Illegal Powers
 ‘ which they Exercised upon the Subjects. But
 from henceforward the Houses declin’d any far-
 ther Argument and Debate concerning the Cef-
 ‘ sation, and directed their Committee ‘ to expedite
 ‘ the Treaty upon the Propositions: Tho’ in all
 Human Probability the King had better have
 agreed to the Cessation upon the Terms of the
 Parliament, and some of his own Friends, were
 themselves of that Opinion.

While the Treaty, which Spun out into some
 Length, was in Agitation, it proved to be the
 Time of the Year when by the Custom of the
 Kingdom, the King’s Judges *Itinerant* used to go
 the Circuits throughout *England* and *Wales*, to
 Administer Justice to the People, and to enquire
 into all Treasons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace,
 and other Misdemeanours, which were any where
 committed contrary to the known Laws; and they
 were

were Sworn to Judge according to those known Laws, the Study and Knowledge whereof was their Profession. So that the Lords and Commons sent to the King a Special Message, 'to Advise and Desire him, that in Regard of the present Distractions, which might hinder both the Judges and the People from resorting to those Places where such Meetings might be appointed, the Assizes and Goal-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferr'd until it should please God to restore Peace unto his People.

The King return'd them Answer; 'that the present Bloody Distractions of the Kingdom, which he had used all possible Means to prevent, and would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under no Consideration more, than of the great Interruption and Stop it made in the Course and Proceedings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws; whereby his good Subjects were robb'd of the Peace and Security they were Born to. And therefore as much as in him lay he would advance that only Means of their Happiness; at least they should see that their Sufferings that Way proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they may now expect by the Laws, Statutes and Customs of the Kingdom, the Assizes and general Goal-delivery in every County, his Majesty thought not fit to command the contrary; but would take severe and precise Order, that none of his Subjects should receive the least Prejudice as they repaired thither, by any of his Forces, which Rule he should be glad to see observ'd by others. And then he hoped, by the Execution of the Laws, even those Publick Calamities might have some Abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former Peace and Prosperity.

But this Answer proving not satisfactory, they made an Ordinance, 'that all Judges, and Justices of Assize, and Nisi Prius, and Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-delivery, should forbear to Execute any of their said Commissions, or to hold or keep any Assizes, or Goal-delivery, at any Time during that Lent Vacation, as they would

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The Advice and Desires of the Two Houses concerning Goal-delivery.

His Majesty's Answer.

The Parliament make an Ordinance to forbid the next Assizes.

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Answer the Contempt and Neglect thereof before the Lords and Commons in Parliament. Which the King's Friends, and that justly too, would have to be the first avow'd Interruption and Suspension of the Publick Justice that happen'd, or that was known ever before in that Kind; and gave the People Occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what Pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labour'd so much to suppress that Inquisition.

*Characters
of the Pri-
vy Council-
lors then
attending
the King.*

The Treaty being managed at the Council Table, and the Parliament having refused to Treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy Council, it will be seasonable in this Place to set down the Names of all those Privy Councillors who attended the King: And when those have been named who did wait upon the King, we shall likewise name those who stay'd and acted with the Parliament; the Characters in Substance are in my Lord Cl——, and to this Effect.

*Lord Lit-
tleton.*

The Lord *Littleton* was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom so much was said before in our former Volumes, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this Place. His Parts, which in the Profession of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the Business now in Hand; and though from the Time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had Confidence enough in him to leave the Seal in his Custody, and he would have been glad to have done any Service, yet by ill Fortune he had drawn so great a Disesteem upon him from most Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

*Duke of
Richmond.*

The Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the noblest Extraction, being nearest allied to the King's Person of any Man who was not descended from King *James*, so he was very worthy of all the Grace and Favour the King had shew'd him; who had taken great Care of his Education, and sent him into *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as soon as he return'd, though he was scarce

scarce One and Twenty Years of Age, made him a Privy Counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant Kindness to both Families, Married him to the Sole Daughter of his dead Favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, with whom he receiv'd Twenty Thousand Pounds in Portion; and His Majesty's Bounty was likewise very great to him; so that as he was very Eminent in his Title, he was at great Ease in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good Parts, and an excellent Understanding; yet, which is no common Infirmary, so diffident of himself, that he was sometimes led by Men who judged much worse. He was of a great and haughty Spirit, and so punctual in Point of Honour, that he never swerv'd a Tittle. He had so entire a Resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorr'd all Artifices to shelter himself from the Prejudice of those, who, how powerful soever, fail'd in their Duty to His Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable Malice by them, as One that would have no Quarter, upon so infamous Terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had receiv'd great Bounties from the King, so he sacrificed all he had to his Service, as soon as his Occasions stood in Need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one Time, Twenty Thousand Pounds together; and, as soon as the War begun, engaged his Three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the Service, in which they all lost their Lives. Himself liv'd, with unspotted Fidelity, some Years after the Murther of his Master, and was suffer'd to put him into his Grave; and died without the Comfort of seeing the Resurrection of the Crown.

The Marquis of Hertford was a Man of great Honour, and Fortune, and Interest, in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard Measure from the Court, where he long receiv'd no Countenance, and had no Design of making Advantage from it. For though he was a Man of very good Parts, and conversant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a Country Life, where he liv'd in Splendour, that he had an Aversion, and even

Marquis of Hertford.

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an Unaptneſs for Buſineſs: Beſides his particular Friendſhip with the Earl of *Effex*, whoſe Siſter he had Married, his greateſt Acquaintance and Converſation had been with thoſe who had the Reputation of being beſt affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and leaſt in Love with the Humour of the Court; many of whom were the Chief of thoſe who engaged themſelves moſt factiouſly and furiouſly againſt the King. But aſſoon as he diſcern'd their violent Purpoſes againſt the Government eſtabliſh'd, before he ſuſpected their blacker Deſigns, he ſevered himſelf from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurr'd with them in any one Vote diſhonourable to the King, or in the Proſecution of the Earl of *Stratford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, purely out of Obedience to the King; and, no doubt it was a great Service; though for the Performance of the Office of a Governour he never thought himſelf fit, nor medled with it. He left *York* to form an Army for the King in the Weſt, where his Intereſt was; but he found thoſe Parts ſo corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down ſo ſoon upon him, that there was nothing for the preſent to be done worthy of his preſence; ſo that he ſent the ſmall Party that was with him farther Weſt to *Cornwal*, where, by degrees, they grew able to raiſe an Army, with which they join'd with him afterwards again, and himſelf return'd to the King at *Oxford* about the time when the Treaty begun.

Earl of
Southamp-
ton.

The Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all Reſpects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cauſe. He was of a Nature much inclined to Melancholly, and being Born a younger Brother, and his Father and his Elder Brother dying upon the Point together, whiſt he was but a Boy, he was at firſt much troubled to be call'd *my Lord*; and with the Noiſe of Attendance; ſo much he Then delight to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any Converſation in the Court, nor Obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone ſome Hardſhip from it, which made it believ'd, that he would have been ready to have taken

all

all Occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of those Designs. He had great dislike of the High Courses which had been taken in the Government, and a particular Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford* for some Exorbitant Proceedings. But as soon as he saw the Ways of Reverence and Duty towards the King declined, and the Prosecution of the Earl *Strafford* to exceed the Limits of Justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their Proceedings. He was a Man of great Sharpness of Judgment, a very quick Apprehension, and that Readiness of Expression upon any sudden Debate, that no Man deliver'd himself more advantageously, and weightily, and more efficaciously with the Hearers; so that no Man gave them more Trouble in his Opposition, or drew so many to a Concurrence with him in Opinion. He had no Relation to, or Dependence upon the Court, or purpose to have any, but wholly pursued the Publick Interest. It was long before he could be prevail'd with to be a Counsellor, and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber; and receiv'd both Honours the rather, because, after he had refused to take a Protestation, which Both Houses had order'd to be taken by all their Members, They had likewise Voted, 'that no Man should be capable of any Preferment in Church or State who refused to take the same; and he would shew how much he contemn'd those Votes. He went with the King to *York*; was most solicitous, as hath been said, for the Offer of Peace at *Nottingham*; and was with him at *Edge-hill*; and came and stay'd with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War, taking all Opportunities to advance all Motions towards Peace; and as no Man was more punctual in performing his own Duty, so no Man had more Melancholly Apprehensions of the Issue of the War; which is all shall be said of him in this Place, there being frequent Occasions to mention him in the Continuance of this Discourse.

The Earl of *Leicester* was a Man of Great Parts, *Earl of* very conversant in Books, and much addicted to the *Leicester*. Mathematicks; and though he had been a Soldier, and Commanded a Regiment in the Service of the

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States of the *United Provinces*, and was afterwards employ'd in several Embassies, as in *Denmark*, and in *France*, was in truth rather a Speculative than a Practical Man; and expected a greater Certitude in the Consultation of Business, than the Business of this World is capable of: Which Temper prov'd very inconvenient to him through the Course of his Life. He was, after the Death of the Earl of *Straford*, by the concurrent Kindness and Esteem both of King and Queen, call'd from his Embassy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that Kindness and Esteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to embark at *Chester*, for the Execution of his Charge, he was required to attend his Majesty for farther Instructions, at *Oxford*, where he remain'd; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any Part in the Business; and lay under many Reproaches and Jealousies, which he deserv'd not: For he was a Man of Honour and Fidelity to the King, and his greatest Misfortunes proceeded from the Staggering and Irresolution in his Nature.

Earl of Bristol.

The Earl of *Bristol* was a Man of grave Aspect, of a Presence that drew Respect, and of long Experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been by the extraordinary Favour of King *James* to his Person, (for he was a very handsome Man) and his Parts, which were naturally great, and had been improv'd by good Education at Home and Abroad, sent Ambassador into *Spain* before he was Thirty Years of Age; and afterwards in several other Embassies; and at last again into *Spain*, where he Treated and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolv'd. He was by King *James* made of the Privy Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, and was then crush'd by the Power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Prejudice the Prince himself had contracted against him, during his Highness's being in *Spain*, upon which he was imprison'd upon his return; and after the Duke's

Duke's Death the King retain'd so strict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendships and Displeasures, that the Earl of *Bristol* could never recover any Admission to Court, but liv'd in the Country, in Ease and Plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appear'd in the Head of all the discontented Party; but quickly left them, when they enter'd upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew so much into their Disfavour, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon some Expressions he used in the House of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the *Tower*; from whence being released, in Two or Three Days, he made haste to *York* to the King, who had before restored him to his Place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edge-Hill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*, where he died; that Party having so great an Animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in *England*, nor to Compound for his Estate, as they suffer'd others to do, who had done them more Hurt. Though he was a Man of great Parts, and a Wise Man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in Business, which he managed with good Sufficiency; and had liv'd little in Consort, so that in Council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear Contradiction without much Passion, and was too voluminous in Discourse; so that he was not consider'd there with much Respect; to the lessening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*, who shortly after came to sit there as Secretary of State, and had not that Reverence for his Father's Wisdom which his great Experience deserv'd, though he failed not in his Piety towards him.

The Earl of *Newcastle* was a Person well bred, *Earl of Newcastle* and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been chosen by the King to be Governour to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and resign'd that Office of Government to the Marquis of *Hertford*. He was not at *Oxford*, but remain'd at *Newcastle*.

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Earl of
Berkshire.

castle, with the King's Commission to be General of those Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and signal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more Occasion hereafter to enlarge.

The Earl of *Berkshire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about or before the setting up of the Standard, taken Prisoner in *Oxfordshire*, and committed to the *Tower*, upon an Imagination that he had some Purpose to have executed the Commission of Array in that Country; but they afterwards set him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no Harm anywhere; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title and Pretences of a Man who had been imprison'd for the King, and thereby merited more than His Majesty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Interest little.

Lord Duns-
more.

The Lord *Dunsmore* had been made a Privy Counsellor after so many, who had deserv'd worse, had been call'd thither, and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough and tempestuous Nature, violent in pursuing what he wish'd, without Judgment or Temper to know the Way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of Power with froward and discontented Men; at least he had Credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a Beautiful and a Worthy Lady.

Lord Sey-
mour.

The Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Interest and Reputation; he had been always very popular in the Country, where he had liv'd out of the Grace of the Court; and his Parts and Judgment were best in those Things which concern'd the good Husbandry, and the Common Administration of Justice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament he serv'd as Knight of the Shire for *Wiltshire*, where he resided; and behaving himself with less Violence in the House of Commons than many of his Old Friends did, and having a great Friendship for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His Interposition, call'd to the House of Peers, where he carried himself very well in all Things relating to the Crown; and when

when the King went to York, he left the Parliament, and follow'd his Majesty, and remain'd firm in his Fidelity. 1643.

The Lord Savil was likewise of the Council, being first Comptroller and then Treasurer of the Household, in Recompence of his Discovery of all the Treasons and Conspiracies, after they had taken Effect, and could not be Punish'd. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Restless Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but in his Disposition and Inclination so False, that he could never be believ'd or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had suck'd in with his Milk, (there having always been an Immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborne his Father) had engaged him with all Persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do Him Mischief. And so, having Opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the first unhappy Pacification, to enter into Conversation and Acquaintance with those who were then employed as Commissioners from the *Scots*; there was a Secret Intelligence enter'd into between them from that time; and he was a principal Instrument to engage that Nation to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next Year after. To which Purpose he sent them a Letter, sign'd with the Names of several of the *English* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great Promises of Assistance; which Names were forged by himself, without the Privy of those who were named. And when all this Mischief was brought to pass, and he found his Credit in the Parliament not so great as other Mens, he insinuated himself into Credit with some Body, who brought him to the King or Queen, to whom he confess'd all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and who had conspired with him, and all the Secrets he knew, with a Thousand Protestations 'to repair all by future Loyalty and Service; for which he was promised a White Staff, which the King had then resolv'd to take from Sir *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretaries Office, which he had accordingly; though all his Discovery was of no other Use than that the

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the King knew many had been False whom he could not punish, and some whom he could not suspect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune and Interest lay, his Reputation was so low, that the Gentlemen of Interest, who wish'd well to the King's Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *Newcastle* found cause to have such a Jealousie of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him, and afterwards sent him to *Oxford*; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his Office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his Place, and committed him to Prison, and never after admitted him to his Presence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any Correspondence with him.

Secretary
Nicholas.

Of the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* there hath been so much said before, that there is no Occasion to add to it in this Place. As for Secretary *Nicholas* he was a very Honest and Industrious Man, and always versed in Business; which few of the others were, or had been. After some Time spent in the University of *Oxford*, and then in the *Middle-Temple*, he liv'd some Years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy-Counsellor, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; and thereby he understood all that Jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many Years after, surrender'd that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferr'd upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewise preferr'd with the Office; and so in a short time became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque Ports, and was entirely trusted and esteem'd by that great Favourite. After his Death he continued in the same Place, whilst the Office was in Commission, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King call'd him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windibank* fled the Kingdom, upon His Majesty's own Observation of his Virtue and Fidelity, and without any other Recommendation: And he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Person of

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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of very good Reputation, and of singular Integrity.

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There remain only Two of the Council then at Oxford, who are not yet nam'd, Sir John Banks, who had been Attorney-General, and was then Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, a Grave and a Learned Man in the Profession of the Law; and Sir Peter Wyck, who had been Embassador at *Constantinople*; from whence he return'd very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sir Thomas Jermin very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and so was made a Privy-Counsellor, and Comptroller of the Household. He was a very Honest, Plain Man, and died very shortly after the Treaty, and was succeeded by Sir Christopher Hatton, a Person of great Reputation at that time, which in few Years he found a Way to diminish.

Banks and Wyck.

Of those who were of the King's Council, and who stay'd and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland may well be reckon'd the Chief, in Respect of the Antiquity and Splendor of his Family, his great Fortune and Estate, and the general Reputation he had among the greatest Men, and his great Interest, by being High Admiral of England. Though he was of a Family that had lain under frequent Blemishes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Prisoner in the Tower, under some Suspicion of having some Knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason; and after he was set at Liberty, by the Mediation and Credit of the Earl of Carlisle, who had without and against his Consent Married his Daughter, he continued to his Death under such a Retraint, that he had not Liberty to live and reside upon his Northern Estate: Yet this Lord's Father was no sooner dead than the King poured out his Favours upon him in a wonderful Measure: He begun with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his Privy Council; when a great Fleet of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes should discern that he intended to maintain and preserve his Sovereignty at Sea, he sent the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea

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Sea since the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more Absolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exercised himself a Year or Two, the King made him Lord High Admiral of *England*; which was such a quick Succession of Bounties and Favours, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favourite. He was in all his Deportment a very great Man, and that which look'd like Formality, was a Punctuality in preserving his Dignity from the Invasion and Intrusion of Bold Men, which no Man of that Age so well preserv'd himself from. Tho' his Notions were not large or deep, yet his Temper and Reservedness in Discourse, and his Reservedness in Speaking, got him the Reputation of an Able and a Wise Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more absolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle Words to Answer for; and in Debates of Importance he always express'd himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himself above other Considerable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to the Impressions which they who approach'd him by those Addresses of Reverence and Esteem, that usually insinuate into such Natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevail'd upon not to do that which in Honour and Gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very pestilent Corruption) he was, with the more Facility, led to concur in what in Duty and Fidelity he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurr'd in all the Counsels which produced the Rebellion, and stay'd with them to support it; which is as much as is necessary to say of him in this place.

Earl of
Pembroke.

The Earl of *Pembroke* was mention'd in a better Conjunction of Time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little discern'd. Yet, by what was then said, his Nature and his Parts might be well enough understood; and as neither the One nor the Other were improvable,
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so they were liable to be Corrupted by any Assaults ; his Understanding being easie to be imposed upon, and his Nature being made up of very strong Passions. Whilst there was Tranquility in the Kingdom he enjoyed his full Share in Pomp and Greatness ; the largeness and plentifulness of his Fortune, being attended with reverence and dependance from the People where his Estate and Interest lay, and where indeed he was a great Man, getting an Affection and Esteem from Persons who had no Dependance upon him, by his Magnificent Living, and discoursing highly of Justice, and of the Protestant Religion ; inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the King ; and speaking frankly of the Oversights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been Bred from his Cradle in the Court ; and had that Perfection of a Courtier, that as he was not weary enough in offending Men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Passion, and ask Pardon for it, which made him be thought a well-natur'd Man. Besides, he had an Office which, at that Time, entitl'd him to the exercise of some Rudeness, and the good Order of the Court had some dependance upon His Incivilities. There were very few Great Persons in Authority who were not frequently offended by him by Sharp and Scandalous Discourses, and Invectives against them, behind their Backs ; for which they found it best to receive Satisfaction by Submissions, and Professions, and Protestations, which was a Coin he was plentifully supplied with for the Payment of all those Debts, whilst the King retain'd only some Kindness for him, without any great Esteem of him. But, from the Beginning of the Parliament, when he saw and heard a People Stout enough to inveigh against the King's Authority, and to fall upon those Persons whom he had always more fear'd than lov'd ; and found that there were Two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them ; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council, in all which he had concurr'd, were call'd in question, and like to be made Penal

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to those who would not redeem their past Errors by future Service ; his Fear, which was the Passion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevail'd so far over him, that he gave himself up into the Hands of the Lord *Say*, to dispose of him as He thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Essex*.

From this Time he took himself to be absolv'd from all Obligations and Dependence upon the Court, which he had liv'd too long in to be willing to quit ; and therefore the more closely adhered to Them by whose Power he thought he might get thither again ; and, for some time, entertain'd the Hope of obtaining the other Superior White Staff, which remain'd then in the King's Hand by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the Parts beyond the Seas. But when he saw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Household, he gave over those weak Imaginations, and concurr'd roundly in all the Lord *Say* propos'd ; and was so weak still as to believe They never meant to Rebel against the King ; or that the King could long Sublist without putting himself into Their hands. When They had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they sent him into the Country, and shew'd him to the People, under the Conduct of Two or Three Members of the House, in whom they could Confide ; and he talk'd ' of the King's Evil Counsellors who ' carried him from his Parliament, and of the ' Malignants, and against Scandalous Ministers, ' whilst none of his Old Friends came near him. And when they were resolv'd no longer to trust the *Ile of Wight* in the Hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governour there, and had an Absolute Power over the Affections of that People, they prefer'd the Poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament ; who kindly accepted it, as a Testimony of their Favour ; and so got into Actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

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The Earl of *Essex*, my Lord says, hath been enough mention'd before; his Nature, and his Understanding were describ'd; his former Disobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the Office he held in it, have been set forth; and therefore it shall suffice, in this place, to say, that a weak Judgment, and some Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable and as violent Attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly look'd upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: And without doubt no Man in his Nature more abhorr'd Rebellion than He did, nor could he have been led into it by any open or transparent Temptation, but by a Thousand Disguises and Couzenages. His Pride supplied his Want of Ambition, and he was angry to see any other Man more respected than himself, because he thought He deserv'd it more, and did better requite it. For he was, in his Friendships, just and constant, and would not have practiced foully against those he took to be Enemies. No Man had Credit enough with him, to corrupt him in Point of Loyalty to the King, whilst he thought himself Wise enough to know what Treason was. But the new Doctrine, and Distinction of Allegiance, and of the King's Power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Understanding, and made him quit his own to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wish'd as well, and judg'd better than himself. His Vanity dispos'd him to be his Excellency; and his Weakness to believe that he should be the General in the House as well as in the Field, and be able to govern their Council, and restrain their Passions, as well as to Fight their Battles, and that, by this Means, he should become the Preserver, and not the Destroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill-grounded Confidence he launch'd out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe Port to Harbour in.

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Earl of Essex.

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*Earl of
Salisbury.*

The Earl of *Salisbury* had been Born and Bred in Court, and had the Advantage of a Descent from a Father and a Grandfather, who had been very Wife Men, and great Ministers of State in the Eyes of *Christendom*; whose Wisdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*, from which Time he continued so Obsequious to the Court, that he never fail'd in over-acting all that he was required to do. No Act of Power was ever propos'd which he did not Advance, and execute His Part with the utmost Rigour. No Man so great a Tyrant in his Country, or was less sway'd by any Motives of Justice or Honour. He was a Man of no Words, except in Hunting and Hawking. In Matters of State and Council he always concurr'd in what was propos'd For the King, and cancell'd and repair'd all those Trangressions, by concurring in all that was propos'd Against him, as soon as any such Propositions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewise attended upon his Majesty; and at that Distance seem'd to have recover'd some Courage, and concurr'd in all Counsels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the Proceedings of the Parliament Odious to all the World: But on a suddain he caus'd his Horses to attend him out of the Town; and having placed fresh ones at a Distance, he fled back to *London*, with the Expedition such Men use when they are most afraid, and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a Member of the House of Commons, and sat with them, as of their own Body, and was esteem'd accordingly.

*Earl of
Warwick.*

The Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wonder'd at for leaving the King, whom he had never well serv'd; nor did he look upon himself as oblig'd by that Honour, which, he knew, was conferr'd upon him in the Croud of those whom his Majesty had no Esteem of, or ever propos'd to Trust; so His Business was to join with those to whom he owed his Promotion. He

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was a Man of a pleasant and companionable Wit and Conversation, of a Jollity universal; and such a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of less Virtue could not be found out: So that one might reasonably have believ'd that a Man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the Overthrow of a Nation and Kingdom. But with all these Faults he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who in the beginning of the Troubles did all the Mischief; and by opening his Doors, and making his House the Rendezvous of all the silenced Ministers, in the Time when there was Authority to silence them, and spending a good Part of his Estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their Devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispenced with, he became the Head of that Party, and got the Stile of a Godly Man. When the King revok'd the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of Admiral, he presently accepted the Office from the Parliament, and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the Protection of the Protector, married his Heir to his Daughter, and liv'd in to entire a Confidence and Friendship with him, that when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Estate, which before was subject to a vast Debt, more improv'd and repair'd than any Man who traffick'd in that desperate Commodity of Rebellion.

The Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the Shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Counsellor before, and contributed too much to the Counsels which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before: And therefore it shall suffice now to say that there was a very forward Fate attended all, or most of the Posterity of that Bed. from whence he and his Brother of *Warwick* had their Original; though he, and some others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

Earl of
Holland.

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Earl of
Manche-
ster.

The Earl of *Manchester*, of the whole Cabal, was in a Thousand Respects most unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle and a generous Nature, civilly Bred, had Reverence and Affection for the Person of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*, lov'd his Country with too unskilful a Tenderness, and was of so excellent a Temper and Disposition, that the Barbarous Times and the rough Parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface, those Marks: Inasmuch as he was never guilty of Rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but perform'd always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Persons, as the Iniquity of the Time, and the Nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind Humanity could be imputed to very few. He was at last dismiss'd, and remov'd from any Trust, for no other Reason but because he was not Wicked enough. He Married first into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by his Favour and Interest, was call'd to the House of Peers in the Life of his Father, and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the Service of the Court as he ought to be. But the Death of his Lady, and the Murther of that great Favourite, his second Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the narrow and restrain'd Maintenance which he received from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the Expences of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a Country Life; and totally to abandon both the Court and *London*; whither he came very seldom in many Years. And in this Retirement, the Discountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the Conversation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flow'd upon him with a wonderful Torrent, and the want of those Guards which a good Education should have supplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Ecclesiastical as well as the Civil Government, made a great Impression upon his Understanding,

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(for his Nature was never corrupted, but remain'd still in its Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to destroy, the Country ; and from particular Instances to make general and dangerous Conclusions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevail'd with him to lessen his Reverence for it ; and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it, and thought it had great Errors, which were necessary to be reform'd ; and that all Means are lawful to compass that which is necessary. Whereas the true Logick is, that the Thing desired is not necessary, if the Ways are unlawful which are proposed to bring it to pass. No Man was courted with more Application, by Persons of all Conditions and Qualities ; and his Person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted Principles, than to those of deprav'd Inclinations : And in the end, even his Piety administer'd some Excuse to him ; for his Father's Infirmities and Transgressions had so far expos'd him to the Inquisition of Justice, that the Son found it necessary to procure the Assistance and Protection of those who were strong enough to violate Justice it self ; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his Father's Honour, and thereby to secure his own Fortune ; and concurr'd with them in their most violent Designs, and gave Reputation to them. And the Court as unskillfully took an Occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of High-Treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at least as innocent as any of the leading Men. It is some Evidence, that God Almighty saw his Heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserv'd him to the end of the Confusion ; when he appear'd as glad of the King's Restoration, and had heartily wish'd it long before ; and very few, who had a Hand in the Contrivance of the Rebellion, gave so manifest Tokens of Repentance as he did ; and having for many Years undergone the Jealousie and Hatred of *Cromwel*, as one who abominated the Murther of the King, and all the

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Barbarous Proceedings against the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return receiv'd him into Grace and Favour, which he never after forfeited by any Undutiful Behaviour.

Lord Say.

The last of those Counsellors which were made after the Faction prevail'd in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord Say; a Man who had the deepest Hand in the Original Contrivance of all the Calamities which beset this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the Monarchy, and less of levelling the Ranks and Distinctions of Men. For no Man valued himself more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raise his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a Proud, Morose and Sullen Nature; conversed much with Books, having been Bred a Scholar, and (though nobly Born) a Fellow of *New College* in *Oxford*; to which he claim'd a Right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William* of *Wickham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far-fetch'd Pedigree, through so many Hundred Years, half the Time whereof extinguishes all Relation of Kindred. However, upon that Pretence that College hath been seldom without one of that Lord's Family. His Parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit and Authority in Parliament; and the more for taking all Opportunities to oppose the Court; and he had, with his Milk, suck'd in an implacable Malice against the Government of the Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* propos'd to himself, after his Return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himself Popular, by breaking that Match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolv'd to embrace the Friendship of the Lord Say, who was as solicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too Imperious and Pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous Mutations, and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and liv'd narrowly in the Country; having Conversation with very few;

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few, but such who had great Malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their Inclinations, and gave them Instructions how to behave themselves with Caution, to do their Business with most Security; and was in truth the Pilot that steer'd all those Vessels which were freighted with Sedition to destroy the Government. He found always some Way to make Profession of Duty to the King, and made several Undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any Preferment he could compass, whilst his Friends were content to attend a more proper Conjunction. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the Beginning of the Parliament, and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the Death of the Earl of Bedford; and, if he could have satisfied his Rancour in any Degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Prerogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was Mischief enough done, he would have stopp'd the Current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority and Credit to do hurt, none to heal the Wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

Sir Henry
Vane the
elder.

The last of the Counsellors who staid with the Parliament was Sir Henry Vane; who had so much Excuse for it, that being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go; and promised himself to be much made of by them, for whose Sakes only he had brought that Infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary Parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art, for he was Illiterate. But being of a Stirring and Boisterous Disposition, very Industrious, and very Bold, he still wrought himself into some Employment. He had been acquainted with the Vicissitudes of Court, and had undergone some severe Mortification, by the Disfavour of the Duke of Buckingham, in the Beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead (which made it believ'd that he had made his Peace in his Life-time, for the King was not in a long time after reconciled to any Man, who

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was eminently in the Duke's Disfavour) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor, and Comptroller of the Household ; which Place he became well, and was fit for ; and if he had taken other Preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not Inclination to change, and in his Judgment he had liked the Government both of Church and State ; and only desired to raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many Ways to improve. And he was wont to say, ' That he ' never had desired other Preferment ; and believ'd, ' that Marquis *Hamilton* (with whom he had never ' kept fair Quarter) when he first propos'd to him ' to be Secretary of State, did it to Affront him ; ' well knowing his want of Ability for the discharge of that Office. But, without doubt, as the Fatal preferring him to that Place was of unspeakable Prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own Destruction. His Malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him wantonly, and out of Contempt) transported him to all imaginable Thoughts of Revenge ; which is a Guest naturally disquiets and tortures those who entertain it with all the Perplexities they contrive for others ; and that dispos'd him to sacrifice his Honour and Faith, and his Master's Interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried himself in the same Ruin ; for which, being justly chastised by the King, and turn'd out of his Service, he was left to his own Despair ; and though he concurr'd in all the malicious Designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the Hatred and Contempt of those who had made most use of him, and died in universal Reproach, and not contemn'd more by any of his Enemies than by his own Son, who had been his principal Conductor to Destruction.

Having done with these Privy Counsellors, and before we come to any farther Particulars of the Treaty between the King and Parliament, it's fit we should subjoin Two or Three Words concerning the Parliaments Five Commissioners in this Place ; of whom Mr. *Whitlock* says, the Earl of *Northumberland* demeaned himself with much Courage and Wisdom,

Parlia
ments Com-
missioners
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zed.

dom, and was full of Civility to the other Commissioners; and the Port they lived in at Oxford, by the Earl's Directions, and managed by his Officers, was full of State and Nobleness: That Mr. *Pierr-point* Acted his Part with deep Foresight and Prudence, and was exceeding Courteous to his Fellow Commissioners: That Sir *William Ermy*n was a Gentleman of good Understanding and Conversation, and would give his Opinion upon good Reason: That Sir *John Holland* was a Gentleman of excellent Parts as well as Person, shewed a very good Judgment and Testimony of himself: Lastly, as for himself, he says modestly enough, Mr. *Whitlock* was put upon much Labour, and had both from the Earl, and the rest of the Commissioners, a great Share of Favour and Respect. But now to the particulars of the Treaty it self: When it was first consented to by the Two Houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first Proposition made by His Majesty, and the First Proposition made by Themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceed to Treat upon any of the other Propositions. So that the Committee in the first Place applied themselves to His Majesty upon his own first Proposition, which was, *That his own Revenue, Magazines, Towns, Forts and Ships, which had been taken or kept from him by Force, should be forthwith restored to him.* To which the Committee answer'd, *That the Two Houses had made Use of His Majesty's own Revenue, but in a very small Proportion, which in a good Part had been employed in the Maintenance of his Children, according to the Allowance establish'd by himself. And the Houses would satisfie what should remain due to His Majesty of those Sums which they had receiv'd; and would leave the same to him for the Time to come. And they desired likewise, that His Majesty would restore what had been taken for his Use, upon any of the Bills, assign'd to other Purposes by several Acts of Parliament, or out of the Provision made for the War of Ireland: That all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of his Magazines should be deliver'd into his Stores, and whatsoever should be wanting they would*

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Earl of Northumberland.
Mr. Pierr-point.
Ermy.

Holland.

Whitlock.

Proposals of the Parliament.

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supply in Kind, according to the Proportions they had receiv'd: But they propos'd the Persons, to whose Charge those Publick Magazines should be committed, being nominated by His Majesty, might be such as the Two Houses could confide in, and that His Majesty would restore all such Arms and Ammunition as had been taken for his Use, from the several Counties, Cities, and Towns. That the Two Houses would remove the Garrisons out of all Towns and Forts in their Hands, wherein there were no Garrisons before these Troubles, and slight all Fortifications made since that Time, and those Towns and Forts to continue in the same Condition they were in before; and that those Garrisons should not be removed, or the Fortifications repaired, without Consent of His Majesty, and Both Houses of Parliament. That the Towns and Forts which were within the Jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports should be deliver'd into the Hands of such a Noble Person as the King should appoint to be Warden of the Cinque Ports, being such a one as they should confide in. That Portsmouth should be reduced to the Number of the Garrison, as was at that Time when the Lords and Commons undertook the Custody of it; and that all other Forts, Castles and Towns, in which Garrisons had been kept, and had been since the beginning of these Troubles taken into their Care and Custody, should be reduced to the same Establishment they had in the Year 1636, and should be so continued; and that all those Towns, Forts and Castles, should be deliver'd up into the Hands of such Persons of Quality and Trust, to be likewise nominated by His Majesty, as the Two Houses should Confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all Governours and Commanders of Towns, Castles and Forts, should keep the same Towns, Castles and Forts respectively, for the Service of his Majesty, and the Safety of the Kingdom; and that they should not admit into them any Foreign Forces, or any other Forces raised without His Majesty's Authority, and Consent of the Two Houses of Parliament; and they should use their utmost Endeavour to suppress all Forces whatsoever raised without such Authority and Consent, and they should seize all Arms and Ammunition provided for any such Forces.

They

They likewise proposed to the King that he would remove the Garrison out of Newcastle, and all other Towns, Castles and Forts, where any Garrisons had been placed by him since these Troubles; and that the Fortifications might be likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts left in such State as they were in the Year 1636; and that all other Towns and Castles in his Hands, wherein there had been formerly Garrisons, might be committed to such Persons nominated by him as the Houses should Conside in, and under such Instructions as were formerly mentioned; and that the new Garrisons should not be renew'd, or the Fortifications repair'd, without the Consent of the King and Both Houses of Parliament. That the Ships should be deliver'd into the Charge of such a Noble Person as the King should nominate to be Lord High Admiral of England, and the Two Houses Conside in; who should receive that Office by Letters Patents, quam diu se bene gesserit, and should have Power to nominate and appoint all Subordinate Commanders and Officers, and have all other Powers appertaining to the Office of High Admiral; which Ships he should employ for the Defence of the Kingdom, against all Foreign Forces whatsoever, and for the Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade, and the Guarding of Ireland, and the Intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and should use his utmost Endeavours to suppress all Forces which should be raised by any Person without His Majesty's Authority, and Consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and should seize all Arms and Ammunition, provided for Supply of any such Forces.

To this Answer the King replied, That he knew not what Proportion of his Revenue had been made Use of by his Two Houses, but he had Reason to believe, if much of it had not been used, very much remained still in their Hands; his whole Revenue being so stopp'd and seized on by the Orders of One or Both Houses, even to the taking of his Money out of his Exchequer and Mint, and Bonds (forced from his Cofferer's Clerk) for the Provisions of his Household; that very little had come to his Use for his own Support, but he would be well contented to allow whatsoever had been employ'd in the Maintenance of his

King's Answer.

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his Children, and to receive the Arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the Future. He was likewise willing to restore all Moneys taken for his Use, by any Authority from him, upon any Bills assign'd to other Purposes, being assured he had receiv'd very little or nothing that Way: And he expected likewise that Satisfaction should be made by them for all those several vast Sums receiv'd, and diverted to other Purposes, by Orders of One or Both Houses, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pacification to his Subjects of Scotland, or employ'd for the Discharge of the Debts of the Kingdom; or by other Acts of Parliament, for the Relief of his poor Protestant Subjects in Ireland. For what concern'd his Magazines, he was content that all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of his Magazines, which did remain in the Hands of Both Houses, or of Persons employ'd by them, should be, as soon as the Treaty was concluded, deliver'd into the Tower of London; and that whatsoever should be wanting of the Proportions taken by them, should be supplied by them with all convenient Speed in Kind; which he said should be committed to, and continued in, the Custody of the Sworn Officers, to whose Places the same belong'd: And if any of those Officers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit, that Trust, by any Misdemeanours, His Majesty would by no means defend them from the Justice of the Law. That he always intended to restore such Arms and Ammunition, which he had been compell'd to take from any Persons and Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would make them recompence as soon as his own Stores were restored to him. To whatsoever they propos'd for the slighting all Fortifications, and reducing all Garrisons, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles, and leaving them in the State they were before, the King fully and absolutely consented; and that the old Castles and Garrisons should be reduced to their Ancient Proportion and Establishment; but for the Governours and Commanders of them, he said, that the Cinque Ports were already in the Custody of a Noble Person, against whom he knew no just Exception, and who had such a Legal Interest therein, that he could not with Justice remove him from

from it, until some sufficient Cause were made appear to him: But he was very willing, if he should at any Time be found Guilty of any thing that might make him unworthy of that Trust, that he might be proceeded against according to the Rules of Justice, That the Government of the Town of Portsmouth, and all other Forts, Castles and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garrisons, should be put into the Hands of such Persons, against whom no just Exceptions could be made; all of them being before these Troubles by Letters Patents granted to several Persons, against any of whom he knew not any Exceptions, who should be remov'd if just Cause should be given for the same. The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other Governours and Commanders of the Towns and Castles, should keep their Charges, as by the Law they ought to do, and for the King's Service, and Safety of the Kingdom; and they should not admit into any of them Foreign Forces, or other Forces raised or brought into them contrary to the Law; but should use their utmost Endeavours to suppress such Forces, and should seize all Arms and Ammunition, which by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom they ought to seize.

To that Part which concern'd the Ships, he told them, that he expected his own Ships should be deliver'd to him, as by the Law they ought to be; and that when he should think fit to nominate a Lord High Admiral of England, it should be such a Person against whom no just Exception could be made; and if any should be, he would always leave him to his due Trial and Examination; and he would grant his Office to him by such Letters Patents as had been used. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by Commission, as had been in all Times accustomed; and whatsoever Ships should be set out by Him, or His Authority, should be employ'd for the Defence of the Kingdom against all Foreign Forces whatsoever, for the Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade, Guarding of Ireland, and the Intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and they should use their utmost Endeavours to suppress all Forces which should be raised by any Person whatsoever, against the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom,

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dom, and to seize all Arms and Ammunition provided for the Supply of any such Forces.

Farther Alterations between them.

The Committee upon His Majesty's Answer desired to know, whether he did intend that Both Houses should express their Confidence of the Persons, to whose Trust those Places were to be committed; for that they were directed by their Instructions, that if His Majesty was pleased to assent thereunto, and to nominate Persons of Quality to receive the Charge of them, that they should certifie it to both Houses of Parliament, that thereupon they might express their Confidence in those Persons, or humbly desire His Majesty to name others, none of which Persons to be removed during Three Years next ensuing, without just Cause to be approv'd by Both Houses; and if any should be so remov'd, or die within that Space, the Persons to be put in their Places to be such as the Two Houses should confide in. The King answer'd, that he did not intend the Houses should express their Confidence of the Persons, to whose Trusts those Places should be committed, but only that they should have Liberty upon any just Exception, to proceed against any such Persons according to Law; His Majesty being resolv'd not to Protect them against the Publick Justice. When any of the Places should be void, he well knew the Nomination and free Election of those who should succeed, to be a Right belonging to, and inherent in his Majesty; and having been enjoyed by all His Royal Progenitors, he could not believe his well affected Subjects desired to limit him in that Right; and desired they would be satisfied with this Answer, or give him any Reasons to alter his Resolution, and he would comply with them.

They told him, there could be no good and firm Peace hoped for, if there were not a Cure found out for their Fears and Jealousies; and they knew none sure, but this which they had propos'd. The King replied, that he rather expected Reasons ground'd upon Law, to have shew'd him, by the Law, that he had not that Right he pretended, or that they had a Right Superior to His, in what was now in Question; or that they would have shew'd him some Legal Reason why the Persons trusted by him were incapable of such a Trust; than that they would only have insisted upon Fears

Fears and Jealousies, of which as he knew no Ground, so he must be ignorant of the Cure. That the Argument they used might extend to the depriving him of, or at least sharing with him in all his Just Regal Power; since Power, as well as Forces, might be the Object of Fears and Jealousies, and there would be always a Power left to Hurt, whilst there was any left to Protect and Defend. He told them, if he had as much Inclination, as he had more Right to Fears and Jealousies, he might with more Reason have insisted upon an Addition of Power, as a Security to enable him to keep his Forts, when he had them, since it appear'd it was not so great, but that they had been able to take them from him, than they to make any Difficulty to restore them to him in the same Case they were before. But he said, as he was himself content with, so he took God to Witness, his greatest Desire was to observe always and maintain the Law of the Land, and expected the same from his Subjects; and believ'd the mutual observance of that Rule, and neither of them to fear what the Law fear'd not, to be on both Parts a better Cure for that dangerous Disease of Fears and Jealousies, and a better Means to establish a happy and perpetual Peace, than for him to divest himself of those Trusts which the Law of the Land had settled in the Crown alone, to preserve the Power and Dignity of the Prince, for the better Protection of the Subject, and of the Law, and to avoid those dangerous Distractions which the Interest of any Sharers with him would have infallibly produced. The Committee hereupon without Offer to answer the King's Reasons, or opposing others against them, only said, That they were commanded by their Instructions to insist upon the Desires of Both Houses formerly express'd. To which the King made no other answer, than that he conceiv'd it all the Justice in the World for him to insist, that what was by Law his own, and had been contrary to Law taken from him, should be fully restored to him, without conditioning to impose any new Limitations upon Him or His Ministers, which were not formerly required from them by the Law; and he thought it most unreasonable to be press'd to diminish

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Having done with the King's first Propositions, we come next to that of the Two Houses, viz. That His Majesty would be pleased to Disband His Armies, as they likewise would be ready to Disband all their Forces which they had raised, and that he would be pleased to return to his Parliament; To which the King Answer'd, that he *was* as ready and willing that all Armies should be Disbanded as any Person whatsoever; and conceiv'd the best VVay to it, would be a happy and speedy Conclusion of the present Treaty; which if Both Houses would contribute as much as he would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And as he desired nothing more than to be with his Two Houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he could possibly do it with his Honour and Safety. Hereupon the Committee asked him, if by a happy and speedy Conclusion of the present Treaty, he intended a Conclusion upon the Two first Propositions, or a Conclusion of the Treaty in all the Propositions of both Parties. The King Answer'd, That he intended such a Conclusion of or in the Treaty, as there might be a clear Evidence to Himself and his Subjects of a Future Peace, and no Ground left for the Continuance or Growth of those Bloody Dissensions; which he doubted not might be obtain'd, if Both Houses would Consent that the Treaty should proceed without farther Interruption or Limitation of Days. They asked him, What he intended should be a clear Evidence to him and his good Subjects of a Future Peace, and no Ground left for the Continuance and growth of those Bloody Dissensions? His Majesty told them, if the Conclusion of the present Treaty upon his first Proposition, and the first Proposition of Both Houses, should be so full and perfectly made, that the Law of the Land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted Course, for the Defence and Preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, and of Themselves, and the rest of His Subjects, there would be thence a clear Evidence to Him, and all Men, of a Future Peace; and it would be such a Conclusion as he intended, never meaning that both Armies should remain undisbanded until the Propositions on both sides were fully concluded. To the other Clause of their own
Propo-

Proposition concerning the King's Return to the Parliament, they said, *they had no Instructions to treat upon it; which the King much wonder'd at; but afterwards they receiving new Instructions, to declare to His Majesty the Desire of Both Houses for his coming to his Parliament; which they said they had often express'd with full offers of Security to his Royal Person, agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and they knew no Cause why he might not repair thither with Honour and Safety.* The King was pleased to send this Message, by an Express of his own, to the Two Houses, after he had first communicated it to their Committee.

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To shew to the whole World how earnestly His Majesty longs for Peace, and that no Success shall make sage to the him desire the continuance of his Army to any other End, or for any longer Time than that, and until things may be so settled, as that the Law may have a full free and uninterrupted Course, for the Defence and Preservation of the Rights of His Majesty, Both Houses, and His good Subjects:

His Majesty's Message to the Two Houses of Parliament, Apr. 12.

1. As soon as His Majesty is satisfied in his first Proposition, concerning his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships and Forts, in which he desires nothing but that the just, known, legal Rights of His Majesty, (devolv'd to him from his Progenitors) and of the Persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto him, and unto them; unless any Just and Legal Exception against any of the Persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to His Majesty) can be made appear to him.

2. As soon as all the Members of Both Houses shall be restored to the same Capacity of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the first of January 1641, the same of Right belonging unto them by their Birth-rights, and the free Election of those that sent them; and having been Voted from them for adhering to His Majesty in these Distractions; His Majesty not intending that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such, in whose Places, upon new Writs, new Elections have been made.

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3. As soon as His Majesty and Both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as to the great Breach of the Priviledges, and the High Dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly Assembled about Both Houses, and aw'd the Members of the same; and occasion'd Two several Complaints from the Lords House, and Two several Desires of that House to the House of Commons, to join in a Declaration against them; the complying with which Desire might have prevented all these miserable Distractions which have ensued; which Security, His Majesty conceives, can be only settled by Adjourning the Parliament to some other Place, at the least Twenty Miles from London, the Choice of which His Majesty leaves to Both Houses.

His Majesty will most chearfully and readily consent that both Armies be immediately Disbanded, and give a present Meeting to Both his Houses of Parliament at the Time and Place, at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be Adjourn'd: His Majesty being most confident that the Law will then recover due Credit and Estimation: And that upon a free Debate, in a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, such Provisions will be made against Seditious Preaching, and Printing against His Majesty, and the establish'd Laws, which have been one of the Chief Causes of the present Distractions, and such Care will be taken concerning the Legal and Known Rights of His Majesty, and the Property and Liberty of His Subjects, and whatsoever hath been publish'd or done, in or by Colour of any illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of One or Both Houses, or any Committee of either of them, and particularly the Power to raise Armies without His Majesty's Consent, will be in such a Manner recalled, disclaimed and provided against, that no Seed will remain for the like to spring out for the Future, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to endanger the very Being of it. And in such a Convention His Majesty is resolv'd by his Readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be propos'd to him by Bill, for the real Good of his Subjects (and particularly for the better Discovery and speedier Conviction of Recusants; for the Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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stants in the Protestant Religion; for the prevention of Practices of Papists against the State; and the due Execution of the Laws, and the true levying of the Penalties against them) to make known to all the World how causeless those Fears and Jealousies have been, which have been raised against him; and by that so distracted this Miserable Kingdom. And if this Offer of His Majesty be not consented to (in which he asks nothing for which there is not apparent Justice on his Side, and in which he defers many things highly, concerning both Himself and People, till a full and peaceable Convention of Parliament, which in Justice he might now require) His Majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the World, not only who is most desirous of Peace, and whose Fault it is that both Armies are not now Disbanded; but who have been the true and first Cause that this Peace was ever Interrupted, or those Armies Raised, and the Beginning or Continuance of the War; and the Destruction and Desolation of this Poor Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not by the most interested, passionate or prejudicate Person be imputed to His Majesty.

To this Message the Two Houses return'd no Answer to the King, but required the Committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford with his Majesty just Twenty Days) with such positive Circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoin'd their Members to begin their Journey the same Day, which they obeyed, though it was so late that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations, and at their Return some of them were look'd upon with great Jealousie, as Persons engaged by the King, and disinclined to the Parliament.

Many were of Opinion that the King was too severe in this Treaty, and insisted too much upon what was his own by Right and Law; and that if he would have distributed Offices and Places liberally to particular Men, which had been a Condescension in Policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossess'd of his own Power. The Committee themselves seem'd exceedingly desirous of such an Accommodation, as all good Men desired; and to believe,

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lieve, that if the King would have condescended so far as to Nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made so great a Division in the Houses, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other Propositions; and the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Professions of Future Service to his Majesty and as ample Recognitions of pass'd Errors, and Mistakes, as could be reasonably expected from a wary Nature, before he could be sure what Réception such Professions and Vows would find; but others calling to Mind what was done in the Houses during the Time of the Treaty, and by their Directions, were of another Opinion, more especially when they considered that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, to be Sequester'd, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under Pretence of searching for Arms, and taking away Superstitious Pictures, they caused the Queen's Chapel at *Somerset-House* (where she was to exercise her Devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to *London*) to be most licenciously Rifled; in which Licence with impunity her Lodgings were Plunder'd, and all her Furniture, and Goods of Value, Taken away and Imbezell'd; that there was an Order made in the House of Commons, when they sent their Messengers every Day to *Oxford* without any Formality or Controul, 'That whatsoever Person should come from *Oxford*, or any Part of the King's Army to *London*, or the Parts Adjacent, without the Warrant of Both Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, he should be apprehended as a Spy and Intelligencer, and be proceeded against according to the Rules and Grounds of War. By Vertue of which Order of the House of Commons only, and without any Communication that Notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for discharging the Duty of his Place, was Executed, which shall be anon remembered; all which, except the Execution of that Man, was Transacted during the Time of the Treaty at *Oxford*.

The

The Treaty being thus Fatally Expired, April 15. 1643. the Earl of *Essex* the same Day march'd with his whole Army from *Windsor*, and sat down before *Reading*; the Earl had never before been at the Head of so Gallant an Army, which consisted of about Sixteen Thousand Foot, and above Three Thousand Horse, in as good an Equipage, and supplied with all Things Necessary for a Siege, as could be expected. In the Town were above Three Thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse consisting of near Three Hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a Form'd Siege, being made only to secure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a Standing Garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolv'd at a Council of War at *Oxford*, 'that before the End of *April* (before which Time it was conceiv'd the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) 'Sir *Arthur Aston* should slight those Works, and 'draw off his Garrison to the King; and that which made it less able to bear a Siege than the Weakness of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not Forty Barrels of Powder, which could have held a brisk and daring Enemy but a short Time. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, the Town look'd upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to say the Truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good as in the Infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no Apprehension of Want of Victuals, with which they were abundantly Stored. The Soldiers without were, for the most part, newly Levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the Way and Order of Assaulting Towns; and this was the first Siege that happen'd in *England*. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the Ground, their General advis'd with his Council of War in what Manner he should proceed, whether by Assault or Approach; in which there was great Diversity of Opinions. 'The Works were Weak, the Number of the Assailants sufficient, all Materials in readiness; they believed the Soldiers in the Town full of Apprehensions, and 'a very Considerable Party of the Inhabitants Disaffected to the Garrison, who in the Time of a

Essex Besieges Reading.

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Storm would be able to beget a great Distraction.
 They might be able to Storm it in so many Places
 at once, that the Number of the Soldiers within
 would not be able to defend all; and if they pre-
 vail'd in any One, their whole Body of Horse
 might enter, and be immediately Masters of the
 Town; if they prevail'd this Way, their Army
 would have that Reputation, and carry that Ter-
 ror with it, that no Power of the King's would
 hereafter be able to abide it; but they might
 march over the Kingdom, and subdue every Part
 of it; whereas if they delay'd their Work, and
 proceeded by Way of Approach, those in the
 Town would recover Heart, and after they had
 digested the present Fears and Apprehensions,
 contemn their Danger, and their own Soldiers,
 who were yet Fresh and Vigorous, would every
 Day abate in Courage, and their Numbers in a
 few Weeks lessen as much by Sicknesh and Duty,
 as they should propably do by an Assault. On the
 other Hand it was Objected, That the Army
 consisted most of New Levies (and in Truth there
 were not, of all that Gallant Army that was at
 Edge-hill, among the Foot, Three Thousand Men)
 who would be hardly brought to begin upon so
 desperate Service; that it was the only Army the
 Parliament had, upon which all their Hopes and
 Welfare depended; and if in the Spring it should
 receive an Eminent Foil, they would not recover
 their Courage again all the Summer; that they
 were not only to look upon the taking of Reading,
 but pursuing that in a Reasonable Way, to keep
 themselves in a Posture and Condition to end the
 War by a Battle with all the King's Forces, which
 would no doubt apply themselves to their Relief;
 and no Place under Heaven could be so Commo-
 dious for them to try their Fortune in as That;
 whereas if they should hastily engage themselves
 upon an Assault, and receive a Repulse, and should
 be afterwards forced to Rise to Fight with the
 King, they should never make their Men stand, and
 then their Cause was lost. As for the Danger of
 Sicknesh among the Soldiers, who were not ac-
 quainted with Hardship, it was urged, That though

though it were earlier in the Year than the Armies usually march'd into the Field, yet they had much better Accommodation and Provision than Armies use to have; their Horse (to whom that Time of the Year is commonly most Hazardous through the want of Forrage) being Plentifully provided for with Hay and Oats, by the Benefit of the River, and all Supplies being sent for the Foot out of London.

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Upon these Arguments and Debates the Major Part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to pursue the Business by Approach; the chief Care and Oversight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, who had been an Old Officer, and of good Experience in the Low-Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the Absolute Power of the Two Houses, and without the cheerful Concurrence of the Earl of *Effex*; though Sir *John Merrick*, who had Executed that Place by his Lordship's Choice from the beginning, was preferr'd to be General of the Ordnance.

We shall not pretend to give the Reader a Journal of this Siege, but after having observed that a Party under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot*, Lieutenant General of the Horse, without any signal Opposition, put in a Supply of Powder, and a Regiment of Five Hundred Foot, into the Town, and received Advertisement from thence of the Governor's Hurt, and that they must expect to be Reliev'd within a Week, beyond which Time they should not be able to hold out. It was thought necessary for the clearing of many Obstructions in the King's Affairs, and not without the Design of Guarding and Waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majesty were ready for that Journey, at least to secure a Necessary Supply of Powder; that Prince *Rupert* should in Person march towards the North; *Prince Rupert* accordingly his Highness with a Party of Twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Six or Seven hundred Foot, march'd towards *Litchfield*; which if he could Reduce, and settle there a Garrison for the King, lay most Convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it dissolve other

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little adjacent Holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their Interruption. In his Way thither he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwickshire*, upon whose Approach the Inhabitants cast up little slight Works at both Ends of their Town, and Baricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any Intercourse with the King's Forces.

In this Posture the Prince found them, having in the Town with them at that Time a Troop of Horse belonging to the Garrison of *Litchfield*, which was grown to that Strength, that it infested those Parts exceedingly; and would in a short Time have extended it self to a Powerful Jurisdiction. His Highness hardly believing it possible, that when they should discover his Power they would offer to make Resistance, and being unwilling to receive Interruption in his more Important Design, sent his Quarter-Masters thither to take up his Lodging; and to assure them, 'that if they behaved themselves peaceably they should not suffer for what was past: But they had not Consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works discharged their Shot upon him; but they were quickly overpower'd, and some Parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and distracted between both, suffer'd the Assailants to enter without much Loss. In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager Pursuit of that loose Troop of Horse that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied Pains, and exact Submission to Discipline and Order, had been a Voluntier in Prince *Rupert's* Troop, and been engaged with singular Courage in all Enterprizes of Danger) was unfortunately wounded with many Hurts on the Head and Body, with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which, within Two or Three Days, he died.

Takes Bromicham.

From *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer Stay, than to remove Two or Three slight Garrisons in the Way, which made very little Resistance, march'd to *Litchfield*, and easily possess'd himself

of

of the Town, which lay open to all Corners; about this Time it was, that the King, who knew well the boisterous and fiery Nature of the Prince, sent him the following Message. 1643.

‘ **T**RUSTY and Well-beloved Nephew Prince Ru- Kings Let-
 ‘ *pert*, although we know that your own *ter to*
 ‘ Knowledge and Experience can Conduct you in *Prince Ru-*
 ‘ all Military Affairs, and that your Loving Affection *pert. Apr.*
 ‘ to us hath been approved by many Testimonies and 13.
 ‘ real Demonstrations in your Constant and Faithful
 ‘ Service, personally performed in our War, which
 ‘ we have endeavoured so much to decline, seeking
 ‘ and heartily pursuing after Peace, which Desires
 ‘ of ours cannot yet be obtain’d; we would have you
 ‘ therefore with us patiently wait the Divine Op-
 ‘ portunity, which can in a Moment Settle and
 ‘ Compose the Universal Distractions of our King-
 ‘ dom, and by no Means seek to anticipate Divine
 ‘ Revenge on our Subjects, for we are fully perswa-
 ‘ ded that a great Part of our Loyal People do
 ‘ Recant, and deeply agitate and think on the Fracti-
 ‘ ons and Divisions of our disturbed State, and
 ‘ do wish that by some Happy and Effectual Means
 ‘ they might once close again: That as the Begin-
 ‘ ning is the hardest in all Matters of Importance,
 ‘ so now our Subjects being entred into this
 ‘ Labyrinth of Error and Refractory Disobedience,
 ‘ cannot suddenly find out the Clew of Reason and
 ‘ Religious Loyalty to Guide and lead them back
 ‘ again; the Way of Peace and Accommodation is
 ‘ that which is pretended to be so hard to find, and
 ‘ like absurd and weak Actions, that can only fit
 ‘ their Humours and Fancy unto One Part, so our
 ‘ Kingdom being now made the Stage of War, they
 ‘ can present nothing but daily Skirmishes, taking of
 ‘ Towns, and many Hostile Passages. Whereas, in-
 ‘ stead of performing the Part of Soldiers, it would
 ‘ become them far better to fall down on their
 ‘ Knees, and with a loving Submission comply
 ‘ with us for the Happiness and Peace of our King-
 ‘ dom, the Ruin whereof (as in other Countries)
 ‘ must needs be the Consequence and Effect of a
 ‘ Civil War. We do thus open our Mind unto
 ‘ you,

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you, that you may have a clear Prospect into our
 Merciful Thoughts, in the Prosecution of this
 War, which we follow and maintain not volun-
 tarily, but being necessitated thereunto; and we
 do wish that our People had never been so far
 blinded and drawn into false Opinions of us
 and our intregious Intents, (as we shall answer
 one Day if it be our Faults, before the Great
 Tribunal) that we must use so sharp a Medicine as
 the Sword to cure their Malady, and their deceived
 Understanding, and that ungrounded Opinion
 should prevail amongst them above all our for-
 mer Royal Expressions, and Pathetical Implora-
 tions of Heaven, as the constant Witness of our
 Thoughts and Actions. But yet all this cannot
 make us forget our selves as they do; we will con-
 tain our selves within the Limits of a King,
 and our good Example shall wound our Subjects
 with the Thought of their Unkindness, deeper
 than the Sword, which wounds but gently, but
 Conscience strikes home indeed; all our Subjects
 shall ever find us in the midst of Arms and
 successful Victories, (which we attribute to God)
 Merciful, and not in any thing desirous of the
 Bloodshed of our People; and after the Merciless
 Battle of *Edgehill* we gave you our Nephew, and
 all our Soldiers most heartily Thanks for the
 Great Valour and Loyal Service that Day Per-
 sonally express'd; but yet withal, we told you
 that we were sorry that there had been so much
 Effusion of Blood, and that all, in both Arms,
 were our Subjects, for whose Loss in that Mer-
 ciless Battle we were exceedingly and deeply
 grieved; so our tender Affections to our Sub-
 jects shall be ever such, that we shall always smart
 in their Calamities, esteem them as our own;
 and as we have largely express'd how we stand
 affected to our People, and what our Grief for
 them is, that this Intestine Civil War should
 be always Prosecuted to our and their Detri-
 ment, Loss and Sorrow, so we would have you,
 Well-belov'd Nephew, and all others that employ
 their Endeavours to do us Service in an Hostile
 Manner, to mingle Severity with Mercy; that
 your

your and their Carriage and Behaviour towards
our Subjects may gain upon their Opinion, and
take their Affections rather than Towns, that
they may know that our Army is in the Power of
their King, Armed not to their Destruction but Con-
version; and therefore we lovingly Charge and
Desire you, our affectionate Nephew, Prince Ru-
bert, to look upon our People in all your
Marches and Attempts, as on our People and
Subjects capable of reclaiming, though now mis-
led; we would have all your Actions as derived
from us; and the Influence of our Mercy shows
us a King tender of the Welfare of our Subjects;
and as a Father will not deal with his offending
Children with any rigorous Violence, but doth de-
clare his Unwillingness; so do you imitate us in
carrying Affections and Intentions to our Sub-
jects, not as Lions, but as Friends disagreeing, that
may hereafter be happily reconcil'd, since it shews
a Prince more near to Heaven to Preserve than
Destroy: And since this Civil Flame cannot be
suddenly quenched, let us not pull down the
Kingdom into Ruin and Devastation, but go on
with this War in a saving Way, since our Loss is
as great on one Side, as on our Subjects Part. We
send you this Premonition, because we expect
Daily to be more Engaged with Hostility, and
great Forces are advancing towards us, with
what Intention we know not; but such they
appear, that we must resolve to oppose them and
their Pretences, as contradictory to our Desires
and Commands, and prejudicial to the Safety
of our Person; therefore we would have you
know our Royal Will and Pleasure is, to be
Merciful in all our Designs, whereunto we shall,
by the Intigation of an Army advancing to-
wards us, be provoked, desiring you, and all our
Loving Subjects and Commanders, to deal Mo-
derately, and with as much Courtesie and Hu-
manity with all our other Subjects on the con-
trary Part, as if all our Performances and Acti-
ons, in Hostile Manner, were by them neces-
sitated, and not by us desired; for though we have
chosen *Oxford* yet a while to be our Place of
Residence,

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‘ Residence, and our Army for the Safety of
 ‘ our Person, we doubt not but as the Soul is
 ‘ not contained in One, but Every Part of the
 ‘ Body, so our Power will be so largely diffu-
 ‘ sed and extended through all and every Part of
 ‘ our Kingdom, that we shall not want sufficient
 ‘ Strength to resist any opposing Forces, if any be
 ‘ so Impious as to attempt such Violence against
 ‘ us, under specious and fair Shews and Pretences.
 ‘ We know that our Army is much malign’d, as
 ‘ if it were Repugnant to the Good of the Com-
 ‘ mon-wealth to accept Service in those great
 ‘ and Civil Distractions. Do you therefore, Good
 ‘ Nephew, by your managing all Affairs in this
 ‘ War, Teach our People to be undeceiv’d in us
 ‘ their Merciful King, let your fair Actions make
 ‘ it appear that you are no Malignants, no Evil
 ‘ Councillors, but that you stand up in Defence of
 ‘ us as much as they pretend to do, and that you
 ‘ seek not the Ruin and Destruction of our King-
 ‘ dom, which Aspersions are cast upon you, which
 ‘ can be no acceptable Service unto us, that so all
 ‘ our Subjects may be convinced that all the Ca-
 ‘ lamities which this War shall introduce upon
 ‘ this Land, are occasioned by Malevolent Opinions,
 ‘ and Ungrounded Fury, and not from us; and as
 ‘ you have Begirt and Besieged our City of
 ‘ *Litchfield*, so have a Care of Spilling and Shed-
 ‘ ding Innocent Blood which is amongst them;
 ‘ but spare when you may destroy; save when
 ‘ Time and Opportunity gives Advantage; let
 ‘ our Subjects, if they Will or Desire it, have
 ‘ free Quarter, and March with Bag and Baggage
 ‘ out of our City, provided they do not use
 ‘ any Outrages, to the said Town of *Litch-
 ‘ field*; and hereof fail not as you desire the
 ‘ Good of us, who desire nothing but the Good,
 ‘ Happiness and Peaceable Government of our
 ‘ Kingdom, and not the Effusion of the Blood
 ‘ of our Subjects; Mercy being the highest Attri-
 ‘ bute of a King.

But tho’ the Prince had so easily possess’d himself
 of the Town of *Litchfield*, he found the Close
 (con-

Containing the Cathedral Church, and all the Clergy mens Houses) was strongly fortified, and resolv'd against him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Moat, was so thick and strong, that no Battery the Prince could raise would make any Impression; the Governour, ~~one~~ Colonel *Ross-well*, very resolute, and the Garrison in Number equal to the Ground they were to keep, and their Provisions able to last for a longer time than it was fit the Prince should stay before it. So that it was believ'd, when his Highness had in vain endeavour'd to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the Matter, wholly in Horse; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconsiderable Force for such an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not throughly discern'd, and weigh'd at first, or whether the Importance of the Place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal Hazard and Adventure, he resolv'd not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and to that purpose drew what Addition of Force he could out of the Country to strengthen his handful of Foot; and perswaded many Officers, and Voluntiers of the Horse, to alight, and bear their Parts in the Duty; with which they Chearfully complied; and in less than Ten Days, he had drawn the Mote dry, and prepared Two Bridges for the Graff. The Besieged omitted nothing that could be perform'd by Vigilant and Bold Men; and killed and wounded many of the Besiegers; and disappointed and spoiled one Mine they had prepared. In the End, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in Readiness for the Assault, he sprung another Mine, which succeeded according to wish, and made a Breach of Twenty Foot in the Wall, in a Place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible Courage and Resolution, and kill'd and hurt very many; some Officers of Prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had enter'd the Breach, they continued the Dispute so fiercely within the Narrowness of the Breach,

and

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and the Ascent not suffering many to enter together, and no Horse being able to get over) that after they had kill'd Colonel *Usher*, and some other good Officers, and taken others Prisoners (for both Colonel *Wagstaffe* and *William Leg* were in their Hands) they compell'd the Prince to consent to very Honourable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a Gainer by the Bargain. And so the Garrison march'd out with fair Respect, and the Prince's Testimony of their having made a Courageous Defence; his Highness being very glad of his Conquest, though the Purchase had shrewdly shattered his Troops. About this time, Prince *Rupert* receiv'd a positive Order from the King, 'to make all possible haste, with all the strength ' he had, and all he could draw together from those ' Parts, to the Relief of *Reading*; which was in ' the danger We left it a little while ago. Upon which his Highness, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, and appointing his Troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few Servants, went to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*.

In the mean time when his Majesty drew near the Town, the Day being pass'd whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves Relief, he was encounter'd by a Party of the Enemy, which defended their Post, who being quickly seconded by Supplies of Horse and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very sharp Conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's Party, commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himself the General, consisting of near One Thousand Musqueteers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the sooner, because those of the Town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was what they principally rely'd upon. The Reason of which was, the Garrison not seeing their Relief coming, had sent for a Parley to the Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for so many Hours, upon which Hostages were deliver'd, and a Treaty begun, when the King came to relieve it. Upon the View of the Enemy's strength and Intrenchment, all were of Opinion that the small Force of the King would not be able to raise the Siege,

Siege, or to join with those in the Town; and in this Melancholy Conclusion His Majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable Attempt the next Day. In the mean time some Soldiers found Means to escape out of the Town, and Colonel *Fielding* himself in the Night came to the King, and told him the State they were in; and that they were in Treaty, and believ'd he might have very good Conditions, and Liberty to march away with all their Arms and Baggage; which was so welcome News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being then present, that if he could procure such Conditions, he should accept them; for indeed the Men and the Arms were all that the King desired, the Loss of either of which was like to prove Fatal to him. The King continued still at *Nettlebeck*, a Village Seven or Eight Miles distant from *Reading*, to attend the Success of the Treaty, which the next Day was concluded upon these Articles.

1. That the Governour, Commanders and Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, might march out with flying Colours, Arms, and Four Pieces of Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, light Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums beating, and Trumpets founding. *Articles of the Surrender of Reading, April 27.*
2. That they might have free Passage to His Majesty's City of *Oxford*, without Interruption of any of the Force under the Command of his Excellency the Earl of *Essex*; provided the said Governour, Commanders and Soldiers, use no Hostility until they come to *Oxford*.
3. That what Persons were accidentally come to the Town, and shut up by the Siege, might have Liberty to pass without Interruption; such Persons only excepted as had run away from the Army under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*.
4. That they have Fifty Carriages for Baggage, Sick and Hurt Men.
5. That the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading* should not be prejudiced in their Estates or Persons, either by Plundering or imprisonment; and that they who would leave the Town might have free

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free Leave and Passage safely to go to what Place they would with their Goods within the Space of Six Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.

6. That the Garrison should quit the Town by Twelve of the Clock the next Morning ; and that the Earl of Essex should provide a Guard for the Security of the Garrison Soldiers when they begun to march.

The Cavaliers complained that this Capitulation had not been observed as it ought, but that at the marching out of the Garrison, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarm'd, and most of the Waggon's plunder'd in the Presence of the Earl of Essex himself, and the Chief Officers ; who was indeed offended at it, but not able to prevent it ; the Unruliness of the Common Men being so great. As this Breach of the Articles was, says my Lord Cl----- notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the Rise, Foundation and Excuse for Barbarous Injustice of the same Kind throughout the greatest Part of the War ; insomuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was Their Parts to be precise in the Observations of Agreements, mutinously remember'd the Violation at Reading, and thereupon exercising the same Licence ; from thence, either Side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite Honesty and Justice of observing Conditions was mutually, as it were by Agreement, for a long time after Violated.

Though at the instant the Parliament was highly pleas'd with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented when he saw his entire Garrison safely join'd to the rest of his Army (for it cannot be denied the Joy was universal through the King's Quarters, upon the Assurance that they had recover'd near Four Thousand good Men whom they had given for lost) yet, according to the Vicissitudes in War, when the Accounts are cast up, either Party grew quickly dissatisfied with its Success. The King was no sooner return'd to Oxford, but upon Conference between the Officers and Soldiers there grew a Whisper, ' That there had

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‘ had not been fair Carriage, and that Reading
 ‘ had been betray’d, and from thence made a Noise
 through *Oxford*: And the very next Day, and at
 the same time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the
 Discourse reflected, came to the King to desire,
 ‘ That an Account might be taken of the whole
 ‘ Business at a Council of War for his Vindication;
 and the Common Soldiers in a disorderly manner,
 ‘ requiring Justice against Him for betraying and
 ‘ delivering up the Town to the Rebels; which
 they avow’d with so much Confidence, with the
 Mention of some Particulars, ‘ as the having frequent
 ‘ Intercourse with the Earl of *Essex*, and hinder-
 ‘ ing and forbidding the Soldiers to issue out of the
 ‘ Town to join with the King, when he came to
 ‘ relieve them, although their Officers had drawn
 ‘ them up to that Purpose, and were ready to lead
 ‘ them; and the like; with some rash and pas-
 ‘ sionate Words, disrespectful to His Majesty;
 he gave present Order for his Commitment,
 and Trial at a Court of War; the King himself
 being marvellously incensed against him for that Clause
 in the Third Article, which gave Liberty to all
 who were accidentally come to the Town, and
 shut up by the Siege, to pass without Interruption,
 wherein there was an Exception of such Persons
 who had run away from the Earl of *Essex*’s Army,
 and by Virtue of that Exception some Soldiers were
 taken after the rendring of the Town, and were
 executed. And though the Colonel excused him-
 self, ‘ as being no more concern’d to Answer for the
 ‘ Articles than every Member of the Council of War,
 ‘ by which they were agreed; yet it was alledged,
 ‘ That the Council of War had been induced to
 ‘ consent to those Articles upon the Colonel’s Aver-
 ‘ ment, that the King had seen them, and approv’d
 ‘ of them. Whereas His Majesty had never seen
 any Articles in writing, but only consented that
 they should march away with their Arms and Bag-
 gage, if the Enemy agreed to those Conditions.
 The King seem’d indeed to be much afflicted, with
 that Clause, which he call’d no less ‘ than giving
 ‘ up those Poor Men, who out of Conscience
 ‘ of their Rebellion, had betaken themselves to his
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Protection, to be Massacred and Murther'd by the Rebels, whom they had deserted; and for the Vindication of himself therein, he immediately publish'd a Proclamation, in which he took Notice of that Clause; and declared to all the World,

That he was not privy to, or in the least degree consenting to that Exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his Service, and derogatory to his Honour; and that he would always chuse to run any Hazard or Danger the Violence or Treason of his Enemies could threaten or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw or deny his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their Conscience of their Disloyalty, should return to their Duty, and betake themselves to his Service. And as he had referr'd to a Court of War the full Examination of all the particular Proceedings in the Delivery of that Town, that Justice might be done accordingly, so he did declare that he would always proceed with all Severity against such as should by the like dishonourable Conditions expose his Subjects, and bereave Them of his Protection that had return'd to their Obedience to him.

At the Trial it was objected against the Colonel, That the Town might have been longer defended, there being Want of no necessary Provisions, and as much Powder at the giving it up as there was when the Enemy came first before it; for besides the first Supply, Sixteen Barrels were put in during the Skirmish, when the King came to relieve it; That several Colonels press'd very earnestly to sally, when the King's Forces were engaged, and that they were expressly hinder'd and forbidden by Him: That he frequently gave his Pass to a Woman to go out of the Town, who went into the Earl of Essex's Army, and return'd again: That he perswaded the Council of War to consent to the Articles, Protesting that the King had well approv'd them, and reproach'd those Officers who were of another Opinion; with some other Particulars of Licence and Passion, which reflected more upon his Discretion than his Honesty or Conduct. He justified himself to have done

done nothing towards the Delivery of the Place, 1643.
but upon full Consideration, Advice and Approba-
tion of the Council of War: That he was in
his own Conscience and Judgment satisfied that
the Substance of the Articles were Advantageous
for his Majesty's Service; and though it was true,
by that last Supply of Ammunition, their Store
was near as much as when the Siege begun, yet
it was in all but Thirty-Two Barrels, which
would have lasted but few Hours, if the Enemy,
who had approach'd within little more than
Pistol-shot of some Parts of their Work, should
Attack them in that manner as they had Reason
to expect; and if they had held out longer,
when it had appear'd that the King was not strong
enough to relieve them, they should not have
been admitted to such Conditions: And there-
fore, that he believ'd a Hazard of so great a Con-
cernment was not to be run, when he well
knew His Majesty's former Resolution of slight-
ing Garrisons; and that it would not be now done
above a Fortnight sooner than was intended:
That he had no Knowledge of His Majesty's Ap-
proach till the Forces were engaged, when a Truce
was concluded, and their Hostages in the Enemy's
Hands; and therefore that he conceiv'd it against
the Law of Arms to make any Attempt from the
Town; and before they could sufficiently deli-
berate it in Council; His Majesty's Forces retired:
That the Woman to whom he gave a Pass was
one he often employ'd as a Spy, with very good
Effect; and he did believe the Advantage he
receiv'd by it was greater than she could carry
to the Enemy by any Information she could give:
That he did perswade the Council of War to
consent to the Conditions, because he believ'd
them very profitable to His Majesty, and he had
averr'd only His Majesty's Approbations of the
general Substance of the Articles, never applied it
to the Clause of the Third Article, which he
much desired to have alter'd, but could not ob-
tain the Consent of the Enemy. If he had been
intemperate to any who were of another Opinion,
or had used any Passionate Expressions in the

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Debate it proceeded only from his Zeal to the Service, and his Apprehension of the Loss of so many good Men, upon whom he well knew the King much depended: That he might have committed many Indiscretions, for which he desired Pardon, but had not fail'd in Point of Fidelity: That by the Unfortunate Hurt of the Governour the Command was devolv'd upon him by his Right of Seniority, not any Ambitious Design of his own: That he had from time to time acquainted Sir *Arthur Ashton* with the State and Condition they were in; and though his Indisposition of Health was such, that he would not give positive Orders, he seem'd to approve of all that was done; and though for the former Reason he refused to sign the Articles, yet they were read to him, and he express'd no Dislike of them. But Notwithstanding all the Defence the Colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any Colour of Proof that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was upon an Article for not obeying Orders (for in this Agitation he had receiv'd some such, which he had not precisely observ'd) sentenced to lose his Head; which Judgment after long and great Intercession, was in the end remitted by the King, but his Regiment disposed to another, and he never restored to that Command. And tho' he had been always before of an unblemish'd Reputation for Honesty and Courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles in the Royal Cause, and been Hurt in the Service, and appear'd afterwards as a Voluntier with the same Courage in the most perilous Actions, and obtain'd a Principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recover'd the Misfortune and Blemish of this Imputation.

The Inconveniencies and Mischiefs that resulted to the King from this Accident were greater than were at that time taken Notice of; for from this the Factions in Court, Army and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their Original; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army; some being thought to have been too passionate, and soli-

solicitous in the Prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the Rage and Fury of Common Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer. Others again were as much condemn'd for a palpable avow'd Protection of him, thereby to shew their Power, that a Person They favour'd should not suffer; and of both these some more Violent then they should have been; which several Inclinations equally possess'd the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that being within the Mercy of the Law upon another Article, no Mercy ought to be shew'd to him; others as really supposing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great Pity severely to take the Forfeiture, upon such a Point as few Officers of the Army did not know Themselves guilty in: These supposing the former too full of Rigour and Uncharitableness, and They again accusing the Other of too much Lenity and Indulgence; whilst many Gentlemen of Honour and Quality, whose Fortunes were embarked with the King, grew extremely jealous that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's Officers with Rewards; and that others had Power to protect them from Punishment and Discovery; and the Soldiers again as much incens'd that their Lives must be sacrificed upon Casual and Accidental Trespases, to the Animosity and Jealousie of those who run not the same Dangers with them.

When the Season of the Year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of Essex found that his too early March had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having perform'd so strict Duty, and lodging upon the Ground in Frost and Rain before Reading, had produced great Sicknes and Diseases in his Army, which had wasted abundance of his Men; so that he wanted rather another Winter Quarter to recover and recruit his Men, than an Opportunity to engage them in Action; which he found would be too often administer'd. He sent daily Importunities to the Parliament for Supplies of all Kinds, which they were not enough furnish'd with to satisfy him; new Divisions and Ani-

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mosities arose There to perplex their Councils. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had Celebrated with loud Festivals, to them appear'd now without any Fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only lost a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was destitute of Health, and all those Accommodations, which must enable them to march: And their General every Day reiterated his Complaints, and reproach'd them with the unskilful Orders they had sent him; by which, against all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that Extremity. The disrespectful and abrupt breaking off the Treaty with the King was urg'd by their Commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and publish'd the King's Gracious Dispositions, and the Temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed. They complain'd of Jealousies which had been entertain'd of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having discover'd that *Harry Martin* had open'd a Letter, which he had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aside, after a Conference in the Painted Chamber between the Two Houses, and question'd him upon it; and the other giving him some rude Answers in Justification of what he had done, the Earl cudgell'd him in that Presence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great Reproach and Scandal of the Parliament.

Whilst Both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon* or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the other, or any Action, save some small Enterprize, by Parties (in which the King got Advantage) as particularly the Young Earl of *Northampton* encounter'd a Party of Horse and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt *Banbury*: But he having routed their Horse, kill'd above Two Hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Prisoners, most whereof were much wounded: The King receiv'd from the Earl of *Newcastle* by a strong Party

of Horse, a good and ample Supply of Ammunition; which was much wanted; but tho' all Things seemed now everywhere ready for the Campaign, the King would try the Effects of another Message to the Two Houses, which he sent by an express Servant of his own in these Words:

‘ Since His Majesty’s Message of the 12th of *The King sends a Message to the im Houses May 20.*
 ‘ April (in which he conceiv’d he had made such
 ‘ an Overture for the immediate Disbanding of all
 ‘ Armies, and Composure of those miserable and pre-
 ‘ sent Distractions, by a full and free Convention
 ‘ of Parliament, that a perfect and settled Peace
 ‘ would have ensued) hath in all this time, above
 ‘ a full Month, procured no Answer from Both
 ‘ Houses, His Majesty might well believe himself
 ‘ absolv’d, both before God and Man, from the
 ‘ least possible Charge of not having used his utmost
 ‘ Endeavours for Peace; yet when he considers
 ‘ that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels
 ‘ of his own Kingdom; that all the Blood which
 ‘ is spilt is of his own Subjects; and that what
 ‘ Victory soever it shall please God to give him, must
 ‘ be over those who ought not to have lifted up
 ‘ their Hands against him; when he considers,
 ‘ that these Desperate Civil Dissentions may encour-
 ‘ age and invite a Foreign Enemy to make a Prey
 ‘ of the whole Nation; that *Ireland* is in present
 ‘ Danger to be totally lost; that the heavy Judg-
 ‘ ments of God, Plague, Pestilence and Famine,
 ‘ will be the inevitable Attendance of this unna-
 ‘ tural Contention: And that in a short time there
 ‘ will be so general a Habit of Uncharitableness
 ‘ and Cruelty contracted though the whole King-
 ‘ dom, that even Peace it self will not restore his
 ‘ People to their old Temper and Security; His
 ‘ Majesty cannot but again call for an Answer to
 ‘ that his gracious Message, which gives so Fair a
 ‘ rise to end these unnatural Distractions. And His
 ‘ Majesty doth this with the more earnestness, be-
 ‘ cause he doubts not the Condition of his Armies
 ‘ in several Parts; the Strength of Horse, Foot,
 ‘ Artillery, his plenty of Ammunition (when some
 ‘ Men lately might conceive he wanted) is so well
 ‘ known, and understood, that it must be confess’d
 ‘ nothing

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nothing but the Tenderneſs and Love to his People, and thoſe Chriſtian Impreſſions, which always live, and he hopes always ſhall dwell in his Heart, could move him once more to hazard a Refuſal. And he requires them, as they will Answer it to God, to Himſelf, and all the World, that they will no longer ſuffer their Fellow-Subjects to welter in each other's Blood; that they would remember by Whoſe Authority, and to what End they met in that Council, and ſend ſuch an Answer to His Majeſty, as may open a Door to let in a firm Peace and Security to the whole Kingdom. If His Majeſty ſhall again be diſappointed of his Intentions therein, the Blood, Rapine and Deſtruction, which may follow in England and Ireland, will be caſt upon the Account of thoſe who are deaf to the Motive of Peace and Accommodation.

This Meſſage was receiv'd by the Houſe of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all Demonſtrations of Reſpect, and the Meſſenger very civilly intreated by them; but when they communicated it to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired their Concurrence in preparing an Addreſs to the King ſuitable to his Invitation, that Houſe was ſo far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order for the Apprehenſion and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Meſſage; and declared, ' That they would proceed againſt him at a Council of War upon the Order, formerly mention'd, made by them when the Treaty was at Oxford, ' that any Perſon coming from Oxford ' without Their General's Paſs, or one from the ' Houſes, ſhould be puniſh'd as a Spy.

The Commons commit the Meſſenger.

The Commons impeach the Queen of High Treason.

The Lords did what they could publickly and privately to diſſwade this Courſe; but they could not prevail: And inſtead of returning any Answer to the King's Meſſage within Three Days after the receiving it, they Impeach'd the Queen of High Treason ' for aſſiſting the King her Husband with Arms ' and Ammunition in the proſecution of the War againſt them: Their Clergy ſounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was poſſible; and

and they resolv'd that the Assembly of Divines, to which they had at the Treaty urged the King's Consent, should now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of some Members of either House to that Number. 1643.

There had been, some Months before, a Design of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Bristol*, by Correspondence with some of the Chief Inhabitants of the City, but it had been so unskillfully or unhappily carried, that when the Prince was near the Town, with such a Party of Horse and Foot as he made choice of, it was discover'd, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Say*, and then Governour of that City for the Parliament; at this time special Direction and Order was sent thither, ' That he should with all Severity and Expedition proceed against those Conspirators, and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgment of a Council of War, Alderman *Yeomans*, who had been High Sheriff of the City, and *George Bourchier*, another Citizen of Principal Account, were (against all Interposition the King could make) both Hanged.

There fell out now an Accident at *London*, which gave great Advantage to the Parliament in the Prosecution of the War, a Discovery of a Plot, which encreased the Animosity against the King, and prodnced a Covenant and Union among Themselves, and throughout the City a Prejudice to most Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace, as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament.

Waller
Tomkins
and Others
Plot.

There was of the House of Commons one Mr. *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Estate, and of admirable Parts and Faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Conversation and Familiarity with those who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been look'd upon by all Men as a Person of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the establish'd Government of Church and State, and by having no manner of Relation to the Court, had the more Credit and Interest to promote the

Rights of it. When the Ruptures grew so great between the King and the Two Houses, that very many of the Members withdrew from those Councils, He, among the rest, with equal Dislike absented himself; but at the time the Standard was set up, having Intimacy and Friendship with some Persons now of Nearness about the King, with the King's Approbation, he return'd again to *London*, where he spoke upon all Occasions with great Sharpness and Freedom, which was not restrain'd, and therefore used as an Argument against those who were gone upon Pretence 'that they were not suffer'd to declare their Opinion freely in the House; 'which could not be believ'd, when all Men knew 'what Liberty Mr *Waller* took and spoke every 'Day with Impunity against the Sense and Proceedings of the House. This won him a great Reputation with all the Royalists, and he was look'd upon as the Boldest Champion the Crown had in Both Houses; so that such Lords and Commons as really desired to prevent the Ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great Familiarity with him, as a Man resolute in their Ends, and best able to promote them. Mr. *Waller* had a Brother-in-Law, one Mr. *Tomkins*, who had Married his Sister, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council. This Gentlemen had good Interest and Reputation in the City, and conversed much with those who disliked the Proceeding of the Parliament, and from those Citizens receiv'd Information of the Temper of the People upon Accidents, in the Publick Affairs. Mr. *Waller* and He frequently imparted their Observations and Opinions to each other; the one relating how many in Both Houses inclined to Peace and the other making the same Judgment upon the Correspondence he had, and Intelligence he receiv'd from the most Substantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one receiv'd from the other, to the Company they used to converse with.

In this Time the Lord *Conway* being return'd from *Ireland*, finding Mr. *Waller* in good Esteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of Friendship

ship with the Earl of *Portland*, he enter'd into the same Familiarity; and being more of a Soldier, in the Discourses administer'd Questions and Considerations necessary to be understood by Men that either meant to Use Force, or to Resist it; and wish'd that they who had Interest and Acquaintance in the City would endeavour by a mutual Correspondence to inform themselves of the distinct Affections of their Neighbours, that upon any Exigency Men might foresee whom they might trust; and these Discourses being again derived by Mr. *Waller* to Mr. *Tomkins*, He upon Occasion and Conference with his Companions insisted on the same Arguments; and They again conversing with Their Friends and Acquaintance agreed, that some well-affected Persons in every Parish and Ward about *London* should make a List of all the Inhabitants, and thereupon to make a reasonable Guess of their several Affections (which at that Time was no hard thing for observing Men to do) and thence a Computation of the Strength and Power of that Party, which was notoriously Violent against any Accommodation.

It's to be observed that from the King's coming to *Oxford* many Citizens of good Note, who were prosecuted, or jealously look'd upon in *London*, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertain'd some Discourse of raising, upon their Stocks of Money and Credit, some Regiments of Foot and Horse, and joining with some Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were likewise inclined to such an Undertaking: Among these was Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, a wealthy Citizen and an active Man, who had been lately prosecuted by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from *London* for appearing too great a Stickler in a Petition for Peace in the City. This Person industriously preserv'd a Correspondence still there, by which he gave the King often very useful Intelligence, and assured him of a very considerable Party which would appear there for him, when his own Power should be so near to give them

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‘ them any Countenance. [In the end, whether invited
 ‘ by his Correspondents there, or trusting his own
 ‘ sprightly Inclinations and Resolutions too much, he
 ‘ sought the King ‘ to grant a Commission to such Per-
 ‘ sons whom He would nominate of the City of *Lon-*
 ‘ *don*, under the Great Seal of *England*, in the Nature
 ‘ of a Commission of Array; by Virtue whereof,
 ‘ when the Season should come, his Party there
 ‘ would appear in Discipline and Order; and that
 ‘ this was desired by those who best knew what
 ‘ Countenance and Authority was requisite; and
 ‘ being trusted to them, would not be executed
 ‘ at all, or else at such a time as his Majesty should
 ‘ receive ample Fruit by it; provided it were done
 ‘ with Secresie, equal to the hazard They should
 ‘ run, who were employ’d in it. The King ex-
 ‘ cepted ‘ the Improbability that it could do Good,
 ‘ and that Failing might do Hurt to the
 ‘ Undertakers. But the Promoter was a
 ‘ very Popular Man in the City, where he had
 ‘ been a Commander of the Train’d-bands till the
 ‘ Ordinance of the Militia remov’d him; which ra-
 ‘ ther improv’d than lessen’d his Credit; and he
 ‘ was very confident it would produce a Notable Ad-
 ‘ vantage to the King: However, They desired
 ‘ it who were there, and would not appear without
 ‘ it; and therefore the King consented to it, refer-
 ‘ ring the Nomination of all Persons in the Com-
 ‘ mission to him; who he verily believ’d had proceed-
 ‘ ed by the Instruction and Advice of those were
 ‘ nearest the Concernment; and for Secrecy of it the
 ‘ King referr’d the Preparing and Dispatch of the
 ‘ Commission to Sir *Nicholas Crisp* himself, who
 ‘ should acquaint no more with it than he found re-
 ‘ quisite; so without the Privy or Advice of any
 ‘ Councillor or Minister of State then most trusted
 ‘ by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission,
 ‘ as he desired, to be sign’d by the King, and sealed
 ‘ with the Great Seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his Cu-
 ‘ stody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Pais, and with the
 ‘ Consent of the Houses, came to *Oxford* to transact
 ‘ the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King up-
 ‘ on the Death of her Husband, who was killed at

Edge-

Edge-Hill; and she having in few Days dispatch'd her Business there, and being ready to return, *Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, ' to desire ' that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise ' herself Safety in her Journey) to carry a small Box ' (in which that Commission should be) with her, ' and to keep it in her own Custody, until a Gentleman should call to her Ladiship for it, by such a ' token; that Token he said, ' he could send to one ' of the Persons trusted, who should keep it by him ' till the Opportunity came in which it might be executed. The King accordingly wish'd the Lady *Aubigny* to carry it with great Care and Secrecie, telling her ' it much concern'd his own Service; and ' to deliver it in such Manner, and upon such Assurance, as is before mention'd; which she did, and within few Days after her return to *London* deliver'd it to a Person who was appointed to call for it. How this Commission was discover'd is unknown; for though Mr. *VValler* had the Honour to be admitted often to that Lady, and was believ'd by Her to be a Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King's Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her Ladiship her self not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any Body else.

But about this Time a Servant of Mr *Tomkins*, who had often cursorily over-heard his Master and Mr *VValler* discourse of the Argument We are upon, placed himself behind a Hanging, at a time they were together, and there over-hear enough to make him believe his Information and Discovery would make him welcome to those whom he thought concern'd; and so went to Mr. *Pym*, and acquainted him with all he had heard. The time when Mr. *Pym* was made acquainted with it is not known; but the Circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their Solemn Fast-Day, when being all at their Sermon in *St. Margaret's Church* in *Westminster*, according to their Custom, a Letter or Message was brought privately to Mr. *Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rose from their Seats; and

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and after a little whispering together, removed out of the Church: Immediately they sent Guards to all the Prisons, with Directions ' to search the Prisoners, and some other Places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the Sermons were ended, the Houses met and were only then told, ' that Letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at *Oxford*, that express'd some notable Conspiracy in Hand, to deliver up the Parliament and the City into the Hands of the Cavaliers; ' and that the Time for the Execution of it drew very near. Hereupon a Committee was appointed ' to examine all Persons They thought fit; and to apprehend some nominated at that Time. And the same Night this Committee apprehended Mr *Waller*, and Mr *Tomkins*; and next Day, such other as they suspected.

Mr. *Waller* was confounded with Fear and Apprehension, that he confess'd whatever he had said, heard, thought or seen, knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; more particularly He inform'd them, ' that the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway* had been particularly in all the Agitations which had been with Citizens, and ' had given frequent Advice and Directions how they should demean themselves; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* had express'd very good Wishes to any Attempt that might give a stop to the Violent Actions and Proceedings of the Houses, and produce a good Understanding with the King. The Committee took the Examinations of *Tomkins*, and having at the same time by some other Means discover'd that Commission before-mentioned and got the very Original into their Hands, they declared ' that the Original of this Conspiracy was from the late *London* Petition for Peace, and ' that under Pretence of Peace and Moderation, a Party was to be formed, which should be able to suppress all Opponents, and to awe the Parliament: ' That to this Purpose some of those who were the principal Movers and Fomenters of that Petition did continue in the Nature of a Committee, still to carry on the Design: That they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court and Parliament; took a general

' general Survey of the Numbers and Affections
 ' of the several Inhabitants throughout the Wards
 ' and Parishes of the City, and Places adjacent;
 ' and distinguish'd all under the Titles of Men
 ' affected, or averse to the King; or indifferent
 ' and neutral Persons, carried only by the Success
 ' and Power of the Prevailers; That they were
 ' well instructed in the Number and Inclinations
 ' of the Train-bands of *London*; the Places where
 ' the Magazines were kept; where Commanders
 ' for the Parliament dwelt; had thought of
 ' Places for Rendezvous and Retreat upon any Oc-
 ' casion, and of Colours and marks of Distinction
 ' between the Different Parties. That *Waller* and
 ' *Tomkins* were the principal Persons employ'd and
 ' trusted to give Advertisement to and correspond
 ' with the King's Ministers at *Oxford*; and re-
 ' ceive Advertisements and Commands from thence,
 ' for the compleating the Work; that they Two
 ' held constant Intelligence and Intercourse with
 ' the Lord *Falkland*, then Principal Secretary to
 ' the King; and that from Him they receiv'd the
 ' Signification of the King's Pleasure; and that
 ' those Directions, Councils and Encouragements,
 ' had been principally sent by those Messengers
 ' which had been employed by His Majesty to
 ' the Parliament, under the Pretence of Peace;
 ' and especially by Mr. *Alexander Hamden*, who
 ' came with the last Message, and was a Cousin-
 ' german to Mr. *Waller*. That the Lady *Aubig-
 ' ney*, who had been lately at *Oxford*, had brought
 ' thence a Commission to them from the King, by
 ' Force of Arms to Destroy, Kill and Slay the
 ' Forces raised by the Parliament and their Ad-
 ' herents, as Traytors and Rebels; and that they
 ' had lately sent a Message to *Oxford* by one *Haf-
 ' sal*, a Servant of the King's, to acquaint the Lord
 ' *Falkland* that the Design was come to a good
 ' Perfection; unto which Answer was return'd, that
 ' they should hasten it with all speed.

' That the Particulars of the Design appear'd to
 ' be, 1. To seize into their Custody the Kings
 ' Children. 2. To seize several Members of Both
 ' Houses, the Lord-Mayor, and Committee of the
 ' Militia,

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6 Militia, under Pretence of bringing them to a le-
gal Tryal. 3. To seize upon the Outworks,
6 Forts, Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and
6 other Places of Importance in the City. 4. To
6 let in the King's Forces to surprize the City, and
6 to destroy all those who should oppose them by
6 Authority of the Parliament. 5. By Force of
6 Arms to resist all Payments imposed by Authori-
6 ty of Parliament, raised for the Support of the
6 Armies employed for their just Defence &c. to
6 suspend, if not alter, the whole Government of
6 the City, and with Assistance of the King's Force,
6 to awe and master the Parliament.

When Both Houses were awaken'd, and startled with this Account, the first Thing agreed on was, ' a Day of Thanksgiving to God for this wonder-
' ful Delivery ; which shut out any future Doubts and Disquisitions, whether there had been any such Delivery ; and consequently whether their Plot was in Truth, or had been so framed, Then it was said, ' that as the Design was the most
' desperate, so the Carriage was the most subtle,
' and among Persons of Reputation, and not sus-
' pected ; and that there was Reason to suspect
' many Members of Both Houses were privy to
' it ; and therefore there ought to be all possible
' Care taken to make the Discovery perfect, and
' to unite themselves for the Publick Defence :
' That if any Part were left undiscover'd, it might
' prove Fatal to the Commonwealth. This
finding a full Consent, it was propounded, ' that
' a Protestation might be drawn up, by which every
' Member of the Two Houses might purge him-
' self from any Guilt of, or Privy in, that Con-
' spiracy ; and likewise oblige himself to resist and
' oppose any such Combinations. And so before
' the rising there was framed by the House of Com-
' mons. a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the
' Members of the Houses, and afterwards by the
' City, and their Army ; for their Jealousie was
now spread over all their own Quarters ;
which Covenant is here inserted in the very Terms
of it.

A Sacred Vow and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the discovery of the late Horrid and Treacherous Design, for the Destruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom the Sixth of June, 1643.

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Whereas there have been, and now is, in this Kingdom a Popish and Traiterous Plot for the Subversion of the true Protestant Reform'd Religion, and the Liberty of the Subject; and in Pursuance thereof a Popish Army hath been raised, and is now on Foot in divers Parts of this Kingdom; and whereas there hath been a Treacherous and Horrid Design, lately discover'd by the great Blessing and especial Providence of God, of divers Persons, to join themselves with the Armies raised by the King, and to destroy the Forces raised by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to surprize the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, with the Suburbs; by Arms to force the Parliament; and finding by constant Experience that many Ways of Force and Treachery are continually attempted, to bring to utter Ruin and Destruction the Parliament and Kingdom, and that which is dearest, the true Protestant Religion: And that for the preventing and withstanding the same, it is fit that all who are True-hearted, and Lovers of their Country, shall bind themselves each to other in a Sacred Vow and Covenant.

I *A. B.* in Humility and Reverence of the Divine Majesty, declare my hearty Sorrow for my own Sins and the Sins of this Nation, which have deserv'd the Calamities and Judgments that now lye upon it; and my true Intention is, by God's Grace, to endeavour the Amendment of my own Ways; and I do farther, in the Presence of Almighty God, Declare, Vow and Covenant, that in order to the Security and Preservation of the True Reform'd Protestant Religion and Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists, now in open War against the Parliament, shall by Force of Arms be protected from the Justice thereof. And that

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I do abhor and detest the said wicked and treacherous Design lately discover'd: And that I never gave, nor will give my Assent to the Execution thereof, but will, according to my Power and Vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like Nature. And in case any other like Design shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely Discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do in my Conscience believe that the Forces raised by the Two Houses of Parliament, are raised and continued for their just Defence, and for the Defence of the True Protestant Religion, and Liberty of the Subject, against the Forces raised by the King; that I will, according to my Power and Vocation, assist the Forces raised and continued by Both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces raised by the King without Their Consent: And will likewise assist all other Persons that shall take this Oath in what they shall do in Pursuance thereof; and will not directly or indirectly adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist, the Forces raised by the King, without the Consent of Both Houses of Parliament. And this Vow and Covenant I make in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as I shall Answer at the Great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed.

Though many were much startled at this Covenant, and took Time to consider of it, yet the Fear of being concluded guilty of the Plot made them swallow all the rest; and the Example of one prevailing with many, there was not a Member of either House that took it not; and being thus themselves, they sent a Committee into the City to acquaint them with their Discovery, and how miraculously God had preserv'd them, and to engage them in the same Sacred Vow and Covenant; which was readily submitted to; and by the Industry, of the Clergy sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout by the People. Then it was transmitted to the Army, that their Fears of Inconvenience

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venience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the Mark of Distinction to know their Friends and Enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that Covenant was reputed a Malignant. This done they proceed to try Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Chaloner*, a worthy Citizen, Mr. *Hambden*, who brought the last Message from the King, one *Hassal*, a Messenger of the King's, who pass'd often between *London* and *Oxford*, and sometimes carried Letters and Messages to the Lord *Falkland*, and some Citizens, whose Names were in the Commission sent from *Oxford*, by a Council of War, by whom *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* were Condemn'd to be Hanged, and were both Executed; the One on a Gibbet by his own House in *Holborn*, where he had long liv'd with singular Estimation; and the Other by his House in *Cornhil*, near the *Old Exchange*. *Hassal* the Messenger died in Prison the Night before his Trial: And there being no Evidence against *Hambden* but what Mr. *Waller* himself gave, they gave no Judgment against him, but kept him long after in Prison, till he died; neither proceeded they Capitally against those Citizens whose Names were in the Commission, it not appearing that their Names were used with their Consent and Privity.

There were very great Endeavours used to have proceeded with equal Severity against the Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Conway*, (for the Accusation of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incensed against him, as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was still very great) who were both close Prisoners; and to that Purpose their Lordships and Mr. *Waller* were confronted before the Committee; where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witness but He against them, the Prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long Bail, Mr. *Waller* himself, after he had with incredible Artifice acted such a Remorse of Conscience, that his Trial was put off out of Christian Compassion till he might recover his Understanding, (and that was not till the Heat and Fury

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of the Prosecutors was reasonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and by drawing Vifitants to himself of the most Powerful Ministers of all Factions. had, by his Liberality and Penitence so satisfied Them, that They satisfied others; and therefore was brought at his request to the House of Commons Bar; where, being a Man in Truth very Powerful in Language, did, by What he spoke, and in the Manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivate the Good-will and Benevolence of Hearers, in this admirable Speech.

*Mr. Wal-
ler's Speech
in the
House a-
bout the
Plot, July
4.*

I Acknowledge it a great Mercy of God, and a great Favour from you, that I am once more suffered to behold this Honourable Assembly; I mean, not to make use of it, and to say any thing in my own Defence, by Justification or Denial of what I have done; I have already confessed enough to make me appear worthy, not only to be put out of this House, but out of the World to: All my Humble Request to you is, that if I seem to you as unworthy to live, as I do to my self, I may have the honour to receive my Death from your own Hands, and not be expos'd to a Trial by a Council of War; whatever you shall think worthy to suffer in a Parliamentary Way, is not like to find a stop any where else.

This Sir, you will be pleas'd for your own sakes to grant me, who am already so Miserable that nothing can be added to my Calamity, but to be made the Occasion of creating a Precedent to your own Disadvantage; besides the Right I may have to this, consider, I beseech you, that the Eyes of the World are upon you that Govern in chief; and if you should expose your own Members to the Punishment of others, it will be thought that you either want Power or Leisure to chastize them your selves; nor let any Man despise the ill Consequences of such a Precedent as this will be, because he seeth not presently the Inconveniences which may ensue; you have many Armies on Foot, it is uncertain

tain how long you may have Occasion to use them. Soldiers and Commanders (though I know well they of the Parliaments Army excel no less in Modesty than they do in Courage) are generally of a Nature ready to pretend to the utmost Power of this kind which they conceive to be due to them, and be apt upon any Occasion of Discontent to make use of such a Precedent as this. In this very Parliament you have not been without some taste of the Experience hereof; it is now somewhat more than Two Years since you had an Army in the North paid and directed by your selves; and yet you may be pleased to remember there was a considerable Number of Officers in that Army, which join'd in a Petition or Remonstrance to this House, taking Notice of what some of the Members had said, as they suppos'd, to their Disadvantage, and did little less than require them of you; 'tis true, there had been some tampering with them, but what has happened at one Time may wisely be thought possible to fall out again at another.

Sir, I presume but to Paint you out the Danger; if it be not Just, I know you will not do me the Wrong to expose me to this Trial; if it be Just, your Army may another Time require the same Justice of You in their own Behalf against some other Member, who, perhaps, you would be less willing to part with.

Necessity of late has forced you into untrodden Paths; and in such a Case as this, where you have no Precedent of your own, you may not do amiss to look abroad upon other States and Senates, which exercise the Supream Power, as you now do here.

I dare confidently say you shall find none either Ancient or Modern, which ever expos'd any of their own Orders to be tried for his Life, by the Officers of their Armies abroad, for what he he did while he resided among them in the Senate.

Among the Romans the Practice was so contrary, that some Inferior Officers in their Army,

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' far from the City, having been sentenced by their
 ' General or Commander in Chief as deserving
 ' Death by their Discipline of War, have ne-
 ' vertheless (because they were Senators) appealed
 ' thither and the Cause has receiv'd a new hear-
 ' ing in the Senate. Not to use more Words to per-
 ' swade you to take heed that you wound not your
 ' selves through my Sides, in violating the
 ' Privileges belonging to your own Persons, I
 ' shall humbly desire you to consider likewise the
 ' Nature of my Offence; not but that I should be
 ' much ashamed to say any thing in Deminution
 ' hereof; God knows, 'tis horrid enough for the
 ' Evil it might have occasion'd; but if you
 ' look near it, it may rather appear to be a
 ' Civil than a Martial Crime, and to have a Title
 ' to a Trial at the Common Law of the Land, there
 ' may be Justly some Difference put between me and
 ' others in this Business.

' I have nothing to do with the other Army, or
 ' any Intention to begin the Offer of Violence to
 ' any Body. It was only a Civil Pretence to that
 ' which I then foolishly conceived to be the
 ' Right of the Subject. I humbly refer it to your
 ' Considerations, and to your Consciences. I know
 ' you will take Care not to shed the Blood of War
 ' in Peace; that Blood by the Law of War which
 ' hath a Right to be Tried by the Law of Peace.
 ' For so much as concerns my self, and my Part
 ' in this Business, (if I were worthy to have any
 ' thing spoken or patiently heard in my behalf)
 ' this might truly be said, that I made not this
 ' Business, but found it; it was in other Mens
 ' Hands long before it was brought to me; and
 ' when it came I extended it not, but restrained it.
 ' For the Propositions of letting in part of the
 ' King's Army, or offering Violence to the Mem-
 ' bers of this House, I ever disallowed and utter-
 ' ly rejected them. What it was that moved me
 ' to entertain Discourse of this Business so far as
 ' I did, I will tell you ingeniously, and that ra-
 ' ther as a Warning for others, than that it makes
 ' any thing for my self: It was only Impatience
 ' at the Inconveniences of the Present War, looking

on

‘ on Things with a Carnal Eye, and not minding
‘ that which chiefly (if not only) ought to have
‘ been considered, the Inestimable Value of the
‘ Cause you have in Hand, the Cause of God and
‘ Religion, and the Necessities you are forced on
‘ for the Maintenance of the same, as a just Punish-
‘ ment for this Neglect, it pleased God to desert
‘ and suffer me, with Fatal Blindness, to be led on,
‘ and engaged in such Counsels as were wholly
‘ disproportioned to the rest of my Life.

‘ These, Sir, my own Conscience tells me were
‘ the Cause of my Failing, and not Malice, or any
‘ ill Habit of Mind, or Disposition towards the
‘ Commonwealth, or to the Parliament; for from
‘ whence should I have it? If you look on my
‘ Birth you will not find it in my Blood: I am
‘ of a Stock which hath born you better Fruit.
‘ If you look on my Education it hath been almost
‘ from my Childhood in this House, and among
‘ the best Sort of Men; and for the whole Pra-
‘ ctice of my Life till this Time, if another were
‘ to speak for me, he might reasonably say, that
‘ neither my Actions out of Parliament nor my
‘ Expressions in it, have Favoured of Distrust or
‘ Malice to the Liberties of the People, or Privi-
‘ ledges of Parliament. Thus, Sir, I have set before
‘ your Eyes both my Person and my Cause, where-
‘ in I shall make no such defence by denying or
‘ extenuating any thing: I have done, as ordi-
‘ nary Delinquents do, my Address to you; and all
‘ my Plea shall be only such as Children use to
‘ their Parents. I have offended, I confess it; I ne-
‘ ver did any thing like it before; it is a Passage
‘ unsuitable to the whole Course of my Life besides;
‘ and for the Time to come, as God that can bring
‘ Light out of Darkness, and hath made this Bu-
‘ siness in the Event useful to you, so also hath
‘ he to me; you have by it made an happy Dis-
‘ covery of your Enemies, and I of my self,
‘ and the Evil Principles I walk’d by. So that if
‘ you look either on what I have been heretofore,
‘ or what I am now, and by God’s Grace assisting
‘ me shall always continue to be, you may per-
‘ haps think me fit to be an Example of your Com-
‘ passion and Clemency.

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“ Sir, I shall no sooner leave you but my Life will depend on your Breath; and not that alone, but Subſtance of ſome that are more Innocent. I might therefore ſhew you my Children, whom the Rigour of your Juſtice would make Compleat Orphans, being already Motherleſs; I might ſhew again a Family, wherein there are ſome Unworthy to have their Share in this Mark of Infamy which now threaten us: But ſomething there is, which if I could ſhew you, would move you more than all this, it is my Heart, that abhors what I have done more, and is more ſevere to it ſelf than the ſevereſt Judge can be. A Heart, Mr. *Speaker* ſo awakened by this Affliction, and entirely devoted to what you maintain, that I earneſtly deſire of God to encline you to diſpoſe of me, whether for Life or for Death, as may moſt conduce to the Advancement thereof. Not to trouble you any longer, if I die, I die praying for you; if I live I ſhall to ſerve you, and render you back the Uſe and Employment of all thoſe Days you ſhall add to my Life.

He never was tried by a Council of War, if we believe my Lord *Cl—*, how he ſhould be reprieved by the Earl of *Effex*, as *Whitlock* has it, I cannot underſtand. It’s certain he Compounded at leaſt for Ten Thouſand Pound, and Travelled, or rather was Banished into *France*.

In the mean time, *Effex* having brought his Army into as good Condition as he could, and marched from *Reading* to *Thame*, one Col. *Hurry*, a *Scotſman*, under ſome Pretence of Diſobligation deſerted him there, going to the King at *Oxford*, and was very graciouſly received. To give Proof that he brought his whole Heart with him to Prince *Rupert*, he acquainted him where the Parliament Horſe lay, and how looſe they were in their Quarters; and to give a Teſtimony of his Fidelity to the King, he deſired to march a Voluntier with a good Party, to make an Attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince aſſigning a ſtrong Party for the Service, he accompanied and conducted them out of the Common Road, till they came to a Town where a Regiment of the Parliament’s Horſe was Quarter’d, which

which they beat up, and kill'd or took most of the Officers and Soldiers, and then fell upon those other Quarters by which they passed before with the like Success; and so return'd to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable Damage to the Enemy. 1643.

As soon as he return'd he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; and assured him, ' That if he went ' about it time enough, before there should be any ' Alteration in their Quarters, which he believ'd ' the General would quickly make, the Enter- ' prize would be worthy of it. The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolv'd to conduct the next Adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and march'd beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept there. A Regiment of Horse and of Foot were lodged there, which were cut off, or taken Prisoners, and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they march'd backward to another Quarter, within less than Two Miles of the General's own Quarters, where his Men lodged with the same Security they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that Way, and so met with the same Fate the others had done; and were all kill'd, or made Prisoners. Thus having perform'd at least as much as they had propos'd to do, and being laden with Prisoners and Booty, and the Sun being now rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave Orders to March accordingly with all convenient Speed, till they should come to a Bridge which was yet Two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favour their Retreat.

But the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Essex* from all the Quarters, who quickly gather'd those Troops together which were nearest, and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmishes till Himself should come up

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with the Foot, and some other Troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the Prince had almost pass'd a fair Plain or Field, call'd *Chalgrave* Field, from whence he was to enter a Lane which continued to the Bridge, the Enemies Horse were discover'd marching after them with Speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the Lane, so they must as easily have put them into great Disorder. Therefore the Prince resolv'd to expect, and stand them upon the open Field, though his Horse were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot. He then directed, that the Prisoners should make what haste they could to the Bridge, but that all the rest should return; for some were enter'd the Lane: And so he placed himself and his Troops as he thought fit in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more haste, and with less Order than they should have done; so that the Prince entertain'd them so roughly, that though they charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best Officers, the rest in a short time fled, and were pursued till they came near the Earl of *Issex's* Body; which being at near a Miles distance, and making a Stand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be inform'd of their Disaster, the Prince with his Troops hasten'd his Retreat, and pass'd the Lane, and came safe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no Purpose to go farther, there being a good Guard which had likewise lined both sides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. The Prince presented *Hurry* to the King, with a great Testimony of the Courage he had shew'd in the Action, as well as of his Counsel and Conduct in the whole. Upon which the King honour'd him with Knighthood, and a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse.

While the Prince's Success in this last March was very seasonable, and raised the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for some time allayed the Jealousies and Animosities which too often broke out in several Factions, it was visibly great in the Number of the Prisoners; whereof many were of Condition, and the

the Names of many Officers were known who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was look'd upon as the best Officer of Horse the other had. One of the Prisoners taken in the Action said, ' that he was confident Mr. *Hambden* was hurt, for ' he saw him ride off the Field before the Action was ' done, which he never used to do, with his Head ' hanging down, and resting his Hands upon the Neck ' of his Horse, by which he concluded he was hurt. Mr. *Hambden* indeed was shot into the Shoulder with a Brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, and within Three Weeks after died with extraordinary Pain. *Hambden slain.*

Many Men observ'd that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr. *Hambden* receiv'd his Death's Wound, *Chalgrave* Field, was the same Place in which he had first executed the in Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, which his Reputation was very great, in the War: And it was confess'd by the Prisoners that were taken that Day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that Morning, after their Quarters were beaten up he was exceeding sollicitous to draw Forces together to pursue the Enemy; and being a Colonel of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Voluntier who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a Stand, all the Officers were of Opinion to stay till their Body came up, and He alone (being Second to None but the General himself in the Observance and Application of all Men) perswaded, and prevailed with them to advance.

He was a Gentleman of a Good Family in *Buckingham-shire*, and Born to a fair Fortune, and of a most Civil and Affable Deportment. In his entrance into the World, he indulged to himself all the Licence in Sports and Exercises and Company, which were used by Men of the most Jolly Conversation. Afterwards he retired to a more reserv'd and Melancholly Society, yet preserving his own natural Chearfulness and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing Courtesie to all Men; though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church,

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Church, yet most believ'd it rather a Dislike of some Churchmen, and of some Introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the publick Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own Country than of publick Discourse or Fame in the Kingdom, before the Business of Ship-money: But then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man enquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own Charge, support the Liberty and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His Carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare Temper and Modesty, that they who watch'd him narrowly to find some Advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compelled to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being return'd Knight of the Shire for the County where he liv'd) the Eyes of all Men were fix'd upon him, as their *Patrie Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel through the Tempests and Rocks which threaten'd it. And my Lord Cl-- goes on and says, he was perswaded his Power and Interest at that time was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of His Rank had had in any time: For his Reputation of Honesty was Universal, and his Affections seem'd so publickly guided, that no Corrupt or Private Ends could bias them. He was of that rare Affability and Temper in Debate, and of that seeming Humility and Submission of Judgment, as if he brought no Opinion of his own with him, but a desire of Information and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a Way of Interrogating, and under the Notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own Opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his Infusions, and discern'd those Opinions to be fix'd in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious and Conscientious Person. That he was indeed a very Wise Man, and of great Parts,

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and possess'd with the most Absolute Spirit of Popularity, and the most Absolute Faculties to govern the People, of any Man he ever knew. For the first Year of the Parliament he seem'd rather to moderate and soften the violent and distemper'd Humours, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassion'd Men plainly discern'd that that Moderation proceeded from Prudence, and Observation that the Season was not ripe, rather than that he approv'd of the Moderation; and that he Begot many Opinions and Motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; so far disguising his own Designs, that he seem'd seldom to with more than was concluded; and in many gross Conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to Designs not yet set on Foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by Majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible Unreasonableness; which produced as great a Doubt in some as it did Approbation in others of his Integrity. What Combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the Invasion of *England*, and what farther was enter'd into afterwards in Favour of them, and to advance any Alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the Privy of this Gentleman.

After he was among those Members accused by the King of High-Treason, he was much alter'd, his Nature and Carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without Question when he first drew his Sword he threw away the Scabbard; for he passionately opposed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently all Expedients that might have produced any Accommodations in that that was at *Oxford*; and was principally relied on to prevent any Infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party than the General himself. In the first Entrance into the Troubles he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and perform'd the Duty of a Colonel upon all Occasions most punctually.

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ctually. He was very temperate in Diet, and a Supreme Governour over all his Passions and Affections, and had thereby a great Power over other Mens. He was of an Industry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most Laborious, and of Parts not to be imposed upon by the most Subtle or Sharp, and of a Personal Courage equal to his best Part; so that he was an Enemy not to be wish'd wherever he might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any Man could deserve to be. And therefore his Death was no less pleasing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was said of *Cinna* might well be applied to Him; 'he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to perswade, and a Hand to execute, any Mischief. His Death therefore seem'd to be a great Deliverance to the Nation.

His Character by Whitlock.

Mr. *Whitlock* says, some advised Mr. *Hambden* not to go out upon that Party, he being not ordered to do it; which he refused, and adds, that he was a Gentleman of the Ancientest Extraction in *Buckinghamshire*, *Hambden* of *Hambden*, his Fortune large, his Natural Abilities great, and his Affection to Publick Liberty, and his Applause in his Country, expos'd him to many Difficulties, as in the Business of Ship-money, of the Loan, and now in Parliament, where he was a most Active and Leading Member; he spake rationally and subtilly, and often propos'd Doubts more than he resolv'd: He was well beloved in his Country, where he had a great Interest and also in the House of Commons.

The Earl of *Essex's* Army was so weaken'd by these Defeats, and more by the Sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless Enemies. The Factions and Animosities at *London* required his presence there; and he thought the Army would be sooner recruited there than at so great a distance; so that he march'd directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealousie and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quarter'd about *St Albans*: Whilst the Affairs of the Parliament were in this

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Distraction, the King's recover'd great Reputation; and the Season of the Year being fit for Action, all Discontents and Factious Murmurings were adjourn'd to the next Winter. 1643.

On the other Hand, waving here some smaller Skirmishes, and the like, in the Western Parts, towards the middle of May the Earl of *Stamford* march'd into *Cornwal* by the North Part with a Body of Fourteen Hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Five Thousand Four Hundred Foot, with a Train of Thirteen Pieces of Cannon and a Morter-Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victuals and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilst the King's Forces, being not half the Number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at *Launceston*; of whom the Enemy had so absolute a Contempt, though they knew they were marching to them within Six or Seven Miles, that they consider'd only how to take them after they were disperfed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis* Castle to give them farther Trouble. To which Purpose, having encamped themselves upon the flat Top of a very high Hill, to which the Ascent were very steep every way, near *Stratton*, they sent a Party of Twelve Hundred Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major-General, to *Bodmin*, to surprize the High-Sheriff, and Principal Gentlemen of the Country; and thereby not only to prevent the coming up of any more Strength to the King's Party, but under the Awe of such a Power of Horse to make the whole Country rise for Them. This Design, which was not in it self unreasonable, prov'd fortunate to the King. For his Forces which march'd from *Launceston* with a Resolution to Fight with the Enemy upon any Disadvantage of Place or Number, easily now resolv'd to Assault the Camp in the Absence of their Horse, and accordingly march'd on 15th of May within a Mile of the Enemy; being so destitute of all Provisions, that the best Officers had but a Bisket a Man a Day for Two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own. Next Day about Five in the Morning, they dispos'd them-

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themselves to their Work, having stood to their Arms all the Night. The Number of Foot was about Two Thousand Four Hundred, which they divided into Four Parts, and agreed on their several Provinces. The first was Commanded by the Lord *Mobun* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who undertook to Assault the Camp on the South Side. Next on the left Hand Sir *John Berkley* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil* were to force their Way; Sir *Nicholas Slanning* and Colonel *Trevannion* were to Assault the North Side; and on the left Hand Collonel *Thomas Bassett*, who was Major General of the Foot, and Collonel *William Godolphin*, were to advance with Their Party; each Party having Two Pieces of Cannon to dispose as they found necessary: Collonel *John Digby* commanding the Horse and Dragoons, being about Five Hundred, stood upon a Sandy Common which had a Way to the Camp, to take any Advantage he could of the Enemy if they Charg'd, otherwise to be firm as a Reserve. In this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces pressing with their utmost Vigour those Four Ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obstinately defending their Ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful Success till towards Three in the Afternoon, when word was brought the Chief Officers of the *Cornish* that their Ammunition was spent to less than Four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the Defect from the Soldiers) they resolv'd could be only supplied with Courage; and therefore by Messengers to one and another they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more Shot, till they reach'd The top of the Hill, and so might be upon even Ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officers Courage and Resolution was so well seconded by the Soldiers, that they begun to get Ground in all Places, and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men who outfaced their Shot with their Swords, to quit their Post. Major General *Chudleigh*, who order'd the Battle, failed in no Part of a Soldier; and when he saw his Men recoil from less Numbers, and the Enemy in all Places gaining the Hill upon him, himself advanced with a good Stand of Pikes upon that Party

Party which was led by Sir *John Berkley* and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, and Charg'd them so smartly, that he put them into Disorder; Sir *Bevil Greenvil* in the Shock being borne to the Ground, but quickly reliev'd by his Companion, they so renewed the Charge, that having kill'd most of the Assailants, and disperfed the rest, they took the Major General Prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much Courage as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave Ground apace, insomuch, as the Four Parties growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the Hill, between Three and Four of the Clock they all met together upon one Ground near the Top of the Hill, where they embraced with unspeakable Joy, each congratulating the other's Success; and being there possess'd of some of the Enemy's Cannon, they turn'd them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no sooner understood the Loss of their Major General, but their Hearts failed them; and being so resolutely press'd, and their Ground lost, upon the Security and Advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their Arms, and others fled, dispersing themselves, and every Man shifting for himself: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, *Parliamentarians is* giving the Example, who (having stood at a safe Distance all the time of the Battle, environ'd with about 120 Horse only assoon) as he saw the Day *beaten near* lost, and some said sooner, made all imaginable *Stratton,* haste to *Exeter.* *May 15.*

On the Parliament Side above Three Hundred were slain on the Place, and Seventeen Hundred taken Prisoners, with their Major General, and above Thirty other Officers. They took likewise all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon, being, as was said before, Thirteen Pieces of Brass Ordinance and a Brass Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being Seventy Barrels of Powder, and all other Sorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Provisions of Victuals: The Army rested that Night and the next Day at *Stratton*; all Care being taken by express Messengers to disperse the News of their Success to all the Parts of that Country, and to

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Guard the Passes upon the River *Tamar*. But Sir *George Chudleigh* had no sooner with great Triumph disperfed the High Sheriff and Gentlemen, who intended to have call'd the *Posse Comitatus*, according to their Custom, for the Assistance of the King's Party, and with little resistance enter'd *Bodmin*, when he receiv'd the Fatal News of the Loss of their Camp and Army at *Statton*. Upon which, with much haste and disorder, leaving many of his Men and Horses a Prey to the Country People, himself, with as many as he could get and keep together, got into *Plimouth*, and thence, without Interruption or Hazard, into *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own Conduct and Misfortune the less censur'd, industriously spread abroad in all Places, and confidently sent the same Information to the Parliament, ' that he had ' been Betrayed by *James Chudleigh*; and that in ' the heat of the Battle, when the hope of the ' Day stood fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, ' run over to the Enemy, and immediately Charged ' the Parliament Forces; which begot in all Mena ' General Apprehension of Treachery, the Sol- ' diers fearing their Officers, and Officers their Sol- ' diers revolt; and thereupon the Rout ensued. Whereas in truth as he was a Young Man of Excellent Parts and Courage, and had perform'd the Part of a right good Commander, both in his Orders and his Person, and was taken Prisoner in the Body of his Enemy, whither he had Charged with undaunted Courage, when there was no other expedient in Reason left, he so repented it, to say nothing of other Motives, that after he had been Prisoner about Ten Days, he freely declared, ' that ' he was convinced in his Conscience and Judg- ' ment of the Errors he had committed; and ' upon promise made to him of the Kings Pardon, frankly offer'd to join with them in His Majesty's Service; and so gave some Countenance to the Reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon him.

Now this Army of the King's being willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the Burthen which they sustain'd so patiently, hasten'd their march

march into *Devon-shire*, not throughly resolv'd whether to Attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when Advertisement came to them, by an express from *Oxford*, that the King had sent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, with a very good Body of Horse, to join with them, and that they were advanced then as far as *Somersetshire*: And that Sir *William Waller* was design'd by the Parliament to visit the West with a new Army, which would Receive agood recruit from those who escaped from the Battle of *Stratton*: So that it was necessary for all the King's Forces in those Parts to be united in a Body assoon as might be; hereupon it was quickly resolv'd to leave such a Party at *Salt-Ash* and *Milbrook* as might defend *Cornwal* from any Incurfions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army to march Eastward; their Number increasing daily upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Victory, many Voluntiers coming to them out of *Devonshire*, and very many of their Prisoners professing they had been seduced, freely offered to serve the King, who being entertain'd under some of their own converted Officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great Honesty and Courage. And so making no longer stay by the Way than was necessary for the refreshing of their Troops, the *Cornish* Army, for that was the Style it now carried, march'd by *Exeter*, where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a sufficient Garrison then was; and staying only Two or Three Days to fix small Garrisons, whereby that Town might be kept from having too great an influence upon so Populous a County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a Gentleman of that Country, had fixed themselves, hoping Sir *William Waller* would be as soon with them for their Relief as the *Cornish* would be to Force them; which Regiment being easily dispersed, they staid there to expect new Orders from the Marquis of *Hertford*.

When the loss of *Reading* was well digested, and the King understood the declining Condition of the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and hearing in what Prosperous State his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send

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Sir William Waller, to check their good Success; his Majesty resolv'd to send the Marquis of *Hertford* into those Parts, and that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command than of a private Colonel of Horse, but had always behaved himself with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a Command of that Army. The King assign'd him to be Lieutenant General under the Marquess; so the Prince and the Marquess with Prince *Maurice's* and the Earl of *Carnarvon's*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard's* Regiment of Horse (the Earl being General of the Cavalty) advanced into the West; and staying only some few Days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorsetshire*, whilst some new Regiments of Horse and Foot, which were Levying by the Gentlemen in those Parts, came up to them, made all Convenient haste into *Somersetshire*, being desirous to join with the *Cornish* Men as soon as might be; perceiving they should be then best able to perfect their new Levies when they were out of Apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful Force. For *Sir William Waller* was already march'd out of *London*, and us'd not to stay longer by the Way than was unavoidably necessary.

About the Middle of *June* the Royalists, with Sixteen or Seventeen Hundred Horse, and about One Thousand New levied Foot, and Seven or Eight Field-pieces, came to *Chard-Somersetshire*, in order there to meet the *Cornish* Army, which consisted of above Three Thousand Excellent Foot, Five Hundred Horse, and Three Hundred Dragoons, with Four or Five Field pieces; so that Officers and all being join'd, they might well pass for an Army of Seven Thousand Men, with an Excellent Train of Artillery, and a very Good Proportion of Ammunition of all Sorts, and so good a Reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their Numbers.

Taunton was the first Place they resolv'd to visit, being one of the fairest, largest and richest Towns in *Somersetshire*; and withal, as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garrison; but they had not yet the same Courage they recover'd afterwards. For the Army was no sooner drawn
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near the Town, but the Town sent Two of their Substantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that Terror into the Garrison (the Prisoners in the Castle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, at the same time raising some Commotion there) that the Garrison fled out of Town to *Bridgewater*. Panick Fear drove them next Day from thence; so that the Marquis was possess'd in Three Days of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater* and *Dunstar-Castle*, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced.

The Army stay'd about *Taunton* Seven or Eight Days, for the settling those Garrisons, and to receive Advertisements of the Motion or Station of the Enemy; in which time they lost very much of Credit and Reputation; for the Horse that came with the Marquis having lived under a loose Discipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unvisited by an Army, were disorderly enough, and by their Licence hinder'd those orderly Levies which should have brought in a supply of Money for the Regular Payment of the Army. This Extravagancy produced another Mischief, some Jealousie, or shadow of it between, the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the first, as being better versed in the Policy of Peace than in the Mysteries of War, desiring to regulate the Soldier, and restrain him from using any Licence upon the Country and the Prince being thought so wholly to incline to the Soldier, that he neglected any Consideration of the Country; and not without some Design of drawing the Sole Dependence of the Soldier upon himself.

Whilst so much time was spent at *Oxford* to prepare the Supplies for the West, and in settling the manner of sending them, which might have been much sooner, and with less Noise, the Parliament foresaw that if all the West were recover'd from them, their Quarters would by degrees be so streighten'd, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the Western Ports at their Devotions, those in *Cornwall* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great Benefit by it. And though most of the Gentry were engaged against them, yet the Common People, e-

Sir Wil-
liam Wal-
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specially in the Cloathing Parts of *Somerset-shire*, were generally much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they sent a Body of Horse and some Arms to countenance them; and therefore they resolv'd, that though they could not easily recruit their Army, they would send some Troops of Horse and Dragoons into the West, under the Conduct of Sir *William Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons and a Gentleman of a good Family in *Kent*. Sir *William Waller* had been a well Bred; and having spent some Years abroad, and some time in the Armies there, return'd with a good Reputation Home, and shortly after Married a Young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the West; he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the same Family, who had the Honour to be a menial Servant to the King in a Place near his Person; which in that Time was attended with Privilege and Respect from all Men: These Two Gentleman discoursing with some Warmth together, Sr. *William Waller* receiv'd such Provocation from the other, that he struck him a Blow over the Face, so near the Gate of *Westminster-Hall*, that there were Witnesses, who swore, 'that it was 'in the Hall it self, the Court being then sitting; 'which according to the Rigor of Law, made it very penal; and the Credit the other had in the Court made the Prosecution to be very severe, in so much as he was at last compell'd to redeem himself at a dear Ransom; the benefit whereof was conferr'd on his Adversary, which Sense of it was the more grievous; and this produced in him so eager a Spirit against the Court, that he was very open to any Temptation that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the House of Commons with all those Counsels which were most Violent, he was employ'd in their first Military Action for the reducing of *Portsmouth*, which he effected with great ease; and when the Earl of *Essex* had put the Army into Winter Quarters, he had with some Troops made a Cavalcade or Two in the West so fortunately, that he had not only Beat up some loose Quarters, but had Surprized a fix'd and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*.

near

near *Glocester*; in which he took above Twelve Hundred Prisoners, with all the Officers, as is aforesaid, being a Number very little Inferior to his own Party; so that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City, and was there call'd *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who look'd upon the Earl of *Essex* as a Man that would not keep them Company to the end of the Journey, had their Eyes upon *Waller*, as a Man more for their Turn, and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all Things for his march with so great Expedition and Secrecy that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no sooner join'd to the *Cornish* Troops (in which Time *Brigewater* and *Dunstar*, and some other Places, were reduced from the Parliament) before he was inform'd that *Waller* was within Two Days march of him, and was more like to draw Supplies to him from *Bristol*, and the Parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held most adviseable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this Means they should continue still their march towards *Oxford*, which they were now inclined to do.

Though *Waller* himself continued still at *Bath*, yet the remainder of those Horse and Dragoons that escaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and such other as were sent out of *Exeter* for their ease, when they apprehended a Siege, and those Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton* and *Bridge-water*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*, *Strode*, and the other Deputy Lieutenants of the Militia for *Somerset*, rallied; and with the Train'd-bands and Voluntier Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his Head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy before break of Day fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quarter'd a Mile Eastward from the Town, and gave so brisk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and ad-

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vanced upon the Enemy (being the first they had seen make any Stand before them since the Battle of *Stratton*) who making Stands upon the Places of Advantage, and maintaining little Skirmishes in the Rear, retired in good order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces still pursuing they chose to quit that City likewise, and drew their whole Body, appearing in Number as considerable as their Pursuers, to the Top of a Hill, called *Mendep-Hill*, overlooking the City of *Wells* which they had left. The Day being far spent, and the March having been long, the Marquis with all the Foot and Train staid at *Wells*; but Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with Sir *Ralph P...*, and Sir *John Berkley*, and Two Regiments of Horse, resolv'd to look upon the Enemy on the Top of the Hill, who suffer'd them to gain the Top of the Hill level with them, and then, facing with a large Front of their Horse, to give their Foot and Baggage Leisure and Security, retired; but being to pass through a Lane and a Village called *Chewton*, were compelled before their entrance into the Lane to leave their Reserve; upon which the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charged the Enemy, and press'd them so hard, that he enter'd the Lane with them, and routed the whole Body of their Horse, and follow'd the Execution above Two Miles.

But this was like to have been a Dear Success; for Sir *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good Supply out of the Garrison at *Bristol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerset* to retire before the King's Forces, till they should join with him, who sent a fresh strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to assist their Retreat; which by the Advantage of a Hedge had march'd without being discover'd. So that the Earl of *Carnarvon* being now press'd by a fresh Body of Horse and Dragoons, was necessitated to retire in as good Order as he could; but the Prince coming in the Head of the Regiment, Charged so vigorously, that he utterly Broke and routed that Part of the Front of the Enemy that receiv'd the Impression. But almost

almost half the Parliament Horfe which were extended larger than his Front, were not Charg'd, Wheel- ed about, and Charg'd the Prince in the Rear; and at the same Time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his Rallied Regiment, Charg'd their Rear; and all this so thoroughly perform'd, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the Controversie, their Pistols being spent in the close. The Prince himself receiv'd Two sharp Wounds in his Head, and was beaten off his Horfe; but he was presently reliev'd, and carried off, and the Enemy totally Routed, and pursued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who after the Chace return'd to the Head Quarters at *Wells*; where the Royalists rested many Days, but advancing to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford*, within Four Miles of *Bath*, now no Day passed without Action, and very sharp Skirmishes; and Sir *William Waller* having receiv'd from *London* a fresh Regiment of Five Hundred Horfe, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, they were so compleatly Arm'd, that they were call'd by the other Side the Regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright Iron Shells, with which they were cover'd, being Perfect Cuirassiers; and were the first seen so Arm'd on either Side, and the first that made any Impression upon the King's Horfe; who, being unarm'd, were not able to bear a Shock with them; besides, that they were secure from Hurts of the Sword, which were almost the only Weapons the other were furnish'd with.

The Contention was hitherto with Parties, in which the Successes were various, and almost with equal Losses; for as *Waller*, upon the first Advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horfe and Dragoonsof Sir *James Hamilton's*, and dispersed them; so within Two Days the King's Forces beat a Party of his from a Pass near *Bath*, where the Enemy-lost Two Field-pieces, and near an Hundred Men.

At last, upon the Fifth of *July*, came on the Battle of *Landdown*, when Sr *William Waller*, as soon as it was light, possess'd himself of that Hill; and after he had, upon the Brow of the Hill over the High- way, raised Breast-works with Faggots and Earth,

The Battle
of Land-
down,
July 5.

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and planted Cannon there, he sent a strong Party of Horse towards *Marsfield*, which quickly Alarm'd the other Army, and was shortly driven back to their Body. As great a Mind as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy, when they had drawn into Battalia, and found the Enemy fix'd on the Top of the Hill, they resolv'd not to Attack them upon so great Disadvantage, and so retired again towards their old Quarters: Which *Waller* perceiving, sent his whole Body of Horse and Dragoons down the Hill to Charge the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which they did thoroughly, the Regiment of Cuirassiers so amazing the Horse they Charged, that they totally routed them; and standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great Terror to the King's Horse, who had never before turn'd from an Enemy, that no Example of their Officers, who did their Parts with invincible Courage, could make them Charge with the same Confidence, and in the same Manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, with Three Hundred Musqueteers, had fallen upon and beaten their Reserve of Dragoons, Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Carnarvon* rallying their Horse, and winging them with the *Cornish* Musqueteers, charged the Enemies Horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner receiv'd two Bodies more, and routed and chased them to the Hill, where they stood in a Place almost inaccessible. On the Brow of the Hill there were Breast-works, on which were pretty Bodies of small Shot, and some Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which strong Parties of Musqueteers were placed; at the Rear was a very Fair Plain, where the Reserves of Horse and Foot stood ranged, Yet the *Cornish* Foot were so far from being appalled at this Disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, 'that they might have leave to fetch off those Cannon. In the end Order was given to attempt the Hill with Horse and Foot. Two strong Parties of Musqueteers were sent into the Woods, which flank'd the Enemy; and the Horse and the other Musqueteers up the Road-way, which were charged by the Enemies Horse, and routed;

routed; then Sir Bevil Greenvil advanced with a Party of Horse on his Right Hand, that Ground being best for them, and his Musqueteers on the Left, himself leading up the Pikes in the middle; and in the Face of their Cannon and Small Shot from the Breast-works gained the Brow of the Hill, having sustain'd Two full Charges of the Enemies Horse; but in the third Charge his Horse failing, and giving ground, he receiv'd, after other Wounds, a Blow on the Head with a Poll-Axe, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Musqueteers fired so fast upon the Enemies Horse, that they quitted their Ground, and the Two Wings, who were sent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gain'd those Parts of the Hill, at the same time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became possess'd of the Breast-work, and so made Way for their whole Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to ascend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the Ground they had won; the Enemy retiring about Demy-Culvering Shot, behind a Stone Wall upon the same Level, and standing in reasonable good Order.

The King's Horse by this Time were so shaken, that of Two Thousand which were upon the Field in the Morning, there were not above Six Hundred on the Top of the Hill. The Parliamentarians were exceedingly scatter'd too; so that exchanging only some Shot from their Ordnance, they look'd one upon another till the Night interposed. About Twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a shew of moving towards the Ground they had lost; but giving a smart Volley of Small Shot, and finding themselves Answer'd with the like, they made no more Noise; which the Prince observing, he sent a Common Soldier to hearken as near the Place where they were as he could, who brought word, 'that the Enemy had left lighted Matches in the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the Field; so that assoon as it was Day the King's Army found themselves possess'd entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Ensigns of Victory.

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Sir Bevil
Greenvil
slain.

In this Battle on the King's Part there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality slain than Common Men; and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any Loss of others less spoken of was the Death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*. C—— says, he was indeed an Excellent Person, whose Activity, Interest and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his Temper and Affections so publick, that no Accident which happen'd could make any Impressions in him; and his Example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a Word, a brighter Courage and a gentler Disposition were never Married together to make the most chearful and innocent Conversation. Very many Officers and Persons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Vwardour*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *George Vaughan*, and many others, none of name died.

After a Day's rest at *Marsfield*, the Royalists understanding that Sir *VWilliam VValler* was still at *Bath*, whither he had retired from *Lansdown*, and that he had sent for a fresh Supply from *Bristol*, it was concluded rather to march to *Oxford*, and so to join with the King's Army, than to stay and attend the Enemy, who was so near his Supplies: And so they march'd towards *Chippenham*, whither *VValler* followed them; the Royalists would have fought him there, but he not liking the Ground, declined it, so that Day they advanced towards the *Devises*; and all this Day there were perpetual and sharp Skirmishes in the Rear; the Enemy pressing very hard, but being always repulsed, till the Army safely reach'd the *Devises*. But then the Case was alter'd for their Retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with Improvement of Numbers: Whereupon it was unanimously advised and consented to that the Marquis and Prince *Maurice* should that Night break through with all the Horse to *Oxford*, and that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mobun*, and other good Officers of Foot, should stay there with their Foot and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend them.

themselves for a few Days till the General might return with their Relief from *Oxford*; which was not above Thirty Miles off. This Resolution was pursued; and the same Night all the Horse got safe away into the King's Quarters, by which time Sir *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devises*, which was open, without the least Fortification or Defence, but small Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and some pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barricadoed to hinder the Entrance of the Horse, which was principally apprehended. *Waller* had soon Notice of the Remove of the Horse, and therefore brought his whole Force close to the Town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he poured in his Shot upon it without Intermission, and attempted to enter in several other Places with Horse, Foot and Cannon, but was in all Places repulsed. At the same time having Intelligence of the Earl of *Crawford's* marching with a Supply of Powder, according to Order, after the first Battle of *Lansdown*, he sent a strong Party of Horse to intercept him, who became so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his Ammunition, and a Troop or Two of his Horse. Upon this Improvement of his Success *Waller* reckon'd his Victory out of Question, and thereupon sent a Trumpet into the Town to summon the Besieged to let them know, ' that he had cut off their Relief, and that their State was now desperate, and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their Behalf. The Royalists were very glad of this Message, and return'd answer ' that they would send an Officer to Treat, if a Cessation were agreed to during the Time of the Treaty, which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited. On the Part of the Besieged were proposed such Terms as might take up most time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Resolution to hold out. *Waller* on the other hand offer'd only Quarter, and Civil Usage to the Officers, and leave

1643. leave to the Common Soldiers to return to their Houses without their Arms, except they would voluntarily chuse to serve the Parliament. These being Terms many of the Officers would not have submitted to in the last Extreme, the Treaty ended, after those in the Town had gain'd what they only look'd for, Seven or Eight Hours sleep, and so long time sparing of Ammunition. The truth is, *Waller* was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, ' that their Work was done, and ' that by the next Post he would send the Number and Quality of his Prisoners; nither did he imagine it possible that any Relief could have been sent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he had signified his Success, and the Posture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within Ten Miles of it. But the Importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing that might with the utmost Hazard be attempted for the redeeming those Men who had wrought such Wonders for him; and therefore he sent the Lord *Wilmot*, with most of his Horse, to march that very Day in which the Advertisement came to him, towards the *Devises*; *Waller* and his Party, careful to prevent the joining of this Party of Horse with the Foot, drew off from all Parts of the Town, and put himself in Battalia upon the Top of a fair Hill, call'd *Roundway Down*; over which the King's Forces were necessarily to march, being full Two Miles off the Town.

Here *Waller* out of pure gaiety departed from an Advantage of Ground he could not again recover; for being in Excellent Order of Battle, with strong Wings of Horse to his Foot, and a good Reserve placed, and his Cannon usefully planted, and apprehending still the Conjunction between the Horse and the Foot in the Town, he march'd with his whole Body of Horse from his Foot to Charge the Enemy, appointing Sir *Arthur Haslerig* with his Cuirassiers to make the first Impression; who was encounter'd by Sir *John Byron*, in whose Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charged as a Voluntier; and after a sharp Conflict,

fiect, in which Sir *Arthur Haslerig* receiv'd many Wounds, that Impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and in a full Career chased upon their other Horse. At the same Time the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from Division to Division as they were ranged, in half an Hour, so suddain Alterations the Accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horse were so totally Routed and Dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious Down; every Man shifting for himself with greater Danger by the Precipices of that Hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his Pursuer. The Foot stood still firm, making Shew of a gallant Resistance; but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly seiz'd their Cannon, and turn'd them upon them, at the same time that the *Cornish* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewise to Charge them; upon which their Hearts failed: And so they were Charged on all Sides, and either killed or taken Prisoners, very few escaped. *Waller* himself with a small Train fled into *Bristol*, which had sacrificed a great Part of their Garrison in his Defeat: There were in this Battle slain of the Parliaments Side above Six Hundred on the Place, Nine Hundred Prisoners taken, besides Two or Three Hundred retaken and redeem'd, whom they had gather'd up in the Skirmishes and Pursuit; with all their Cannon, being Eight Pieces of Ordnance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggon, Baggage and Victual; Eight and Twenty Foot Ensigns, and Nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of Fifteen Hundred Horse, with Two small Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect, upon the Matter, before the *Cornish* came up) though the Enemy's Foot were suffer'd to stand in a Body uncharged, out of Ceremony, till They came, against a Body of full Two Thousand Horse, Five Hundred Dragoons, and near Three Thousand Foot, with an Excellent Train of Artillery. *Whitlock* makes the Rout of the Parliaments Horse to be occasion'd by a Panick Fear, and ~~that~~ they lost but Four Brass Guns. Of the Royalists there were slain very few; and of Name none but *Dudley Smith*, a valiant Young Gentleman, who was always a Voluntier with the

The Battle of Roundway Down wherein Sir William Waller is Routed.

Lord

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Lord *Wilmot*, and amongst the first upon any Action of Danger. *Waller* believ'd himself to be absolutely Betray'd, and Sacrificed by the Earl of *Essex* out of Envy at the great Things he had done, which seem'd to eclipse His Glories; and complain'd, 'that he lying with his whole Army within Ten Miles of *Oxford*, should suffer the Chief Strength of that Place to march Thirty Miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, by which they would have been probably recall'd. On the other Hand, the Earl disdain'd to be thought his Rival, reproach'd the other with 'unfildierly Neglects, and want of Courage, to be Beaten by a handful of Men, and to have deserted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own Person in one Charge against the Enemy. Where-ever the Fault was, says *Cl-----*, it was never forgiven, tho' *Whitlock* says, his Presence at *London* silenced Invectives against him, and made the better Way for Recruits for him.

As things grew thus ill on the Parliament Side, there was but little Progress could be made in Recruiting the Earl of *Essex* his Army, who was now much out of Humour, as appears by the following Letter to the Parliament, wherein he would persuade them to make a Peace.

Mr. Speaker,

Essex his
Letter advising to a
Peace July
the 9th.

I Would have given you the true Relation of the Skirmish on Sunday last, between some of the Horse and the Enemy near *Buckingham*, but Sir *Phillip Stapleton* and Colonel *Goodwin* being then on the Place, I refer the Relation thereof unto them; since when I was informed that the King had sent more Forces to *Buckingham* to maintain that Place and bring these Parts under Contribution, where the Enemy stayed till the Army came within Two Miles of them, and then made haste away towards *Banbury*, notwithstanding they had perswaded the People that they would not quit the Place till they had beaten me out of the Country: I then understanding that they were fled, held it not fit to go to the Town with my Army, but sent Colonel *Middleton* with some Horse to clear that Town and Coast, which they did, and then advised where

where to quarter most with Conveniency for our Army, and most Ready for our Enemy. The Queen's Forces being to join with them very suddenly; and that our Army may the better serve the Parliament, and City and Counties Adjacent, and be more safely supplied with Money from London, and lye most conveniently to join the Forces with the Lord Gray in Northamptonshire, I was advised to March to Great Brickhil, as the most fit Place for all Purposes, the Enemies chief Strength being in Horse: And this Army being neither Recruited with Horse, Arms nor Saddles, it is impossible to keep the Counties from being Plundered, nor to Fight with them, but when and where they list, we being forced when we move to March with the whole Army, which can be but slowly; so that the Counties suffer much Wrong, and the Cries of Poor People are infinite. If it were thought fit to send to his Majesty to have Peace, with the settling of Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the People, and to bring unto just Trial those chief Delinquents that have brought all this Mischief to both Kingdoms; and (as my Lord of Bristol spake once in Parliament) how we may be secured to have these things performed hereafter; or if his Majesty should please to absent himself, there may be a Day set down to give a Period to all these unhappy Distractions by a Battle, which, when and where they shall chuse, that may be thought very Indifferent, I shall be ready to perform the Duty I owe you; and the Propositions to be agreed upon between his Majesty and the Parliament may be sent to an indifferent Place; that both Armies may be drawn near one to the other, that if Peace be not concluded, it may be ended by the Sword; no Officers of the Army to be of the Committee, nor no Intercourse to be between them.

On the other Hand, the King's Forces receiv'd a fair Addition, by the Conjunction with those Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above Two Thousand Foot well Arm'd, and One Thousand Horse, and Six Pieces of Cannon, and Two Mortars, and about One Hundred Waggon: So that as soon as their Majesties came to Oxford, the Earl of Essex retired with his Army broken and disheartned to Uxbridge, giving over any Thought

The Earl
of Essex
retires to
Uxbridge.

Bristol Be-
sieged by
Prince Ru-
pert.

Thought of fighting with the King, till he should be recruited with Horse, Men and Money; and suffering no less in the Talk of the People, (who began to assume a great Freedom in Discourse) for not interpoling to hinder the Queen's March to Oxford, and joining with the King, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence to the Ruin of Sir *William Waller*. After this Defeat *Wilmot* retired to Oxford to attend his Majesty; and the *Cornish* Army drew back and possess'd themselves of *Bath*, which was soon quitted to them upon the Overthrow of *Waller*, that Garrison being withdrawn to reinforce *Bristol*, which the Royalists now resolve to Besiege, and on the Four and Twentieth of *July* sat down before it; quartering their Horse in that Manner that none could go out or into the City without great Hazard of being taken; and the same Day, with the Assistance of some Seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the Ships that were in *King-road*, which were not only laden with Goods of great Value, as Plate, Money, and the best Sort of all Commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many Persons of Quality; who being unwilling to run the Hazard of a Siege, thought that Way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to *London*; and so were all taken Prisoners. The next Day Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a General Council of all the Principal Officers of both Armies, being Assembled, it was Debated, 'in what Manner they should proceed, by Assault or Approach. There were in the Town Five and Twenty Hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finish'd; yet in some Places the Graff was wider and deeper than in others. The Castle within the Town was very well prepared and supplied with great Store of Provisions to endure a Siege. The Opinions were several: The Officers of the *Cornish* were of Opinion, 'that it was best to proceed by Way of Approach; because the Ground being very good, it 'would in a very short Time be done; and since 'there

there was no Army of the Enemy in a Possibility to relieve it, the securest Way would be the best; whereas the Works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many Men; and if they were beaten off, all their Summer Hopes would be destroyed; it not being easie again to make up the Spirit of the Army for a New Action. Besides, they alledg'd, the well-affected Party in the City, which was believ'd to be very great, would, after they had been closely Besieged Three or Four Days, have a great Influence upon the Soldiers, and be able to do more towards the Surrender, than they could upon a Storm; when they would be equally sensible of the Disorder of the Soldiers, and their own Damage by Plunder, as the other; and the too late Example of the Executed Citizens, would keep Men from offering at any Insurrection in the City.

On the other Hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Officers of his Army, very earnestly desirous to Assault it; and alledg'd, the Work to be Easie, and the Soldiers fitter for any brisk Attempt, than a dull, patient Design; and that the Army would be more weaken'd by the latter than the former: That the City not having yet recover'd the Consternation of Sir *William Waller's* Defeat, was so full of Horror, that it would make a very weak Defence: That there were no Soldiers of Experience in the Town, and the Governour himself not like to endure the Terror of a Storm: Whereas, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long upon them with a Wall between, they would grow confirm'd and resolute, and Courage would supply the place of Skill; and having Plenty of all Kinds of Provisions within the Town, they would grow strong and peremptory, whilst the Besiegers grew less Vigorous and Dishearten'd. These Reasons, and the Princes Importunity, with some Insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the Town that must not be mention'd, and a Glorious Contempt of Danger prevail'd so far, that it was consented to on all Parts, to Assault the Town the next Morning in Three Places on the *Southern* Side,

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Side, and at Three Places on the *Glocestershire* Side, at the break of Day. The next Morning, with little other Provisions fit for such a Work than the Courage of the Assailants, both Armies fell on. On the West Side, where the *Cornish* were, they Assaulted the Line in Three Places: One Division, led by Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, assisted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant Colonel *Slingsby*, and Three more Field Officers: Another Division on the Right was led by Colonel *Buck*, assisted by Colonel *Wagstaffe*, Colonel *Bernard Ashley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, with other Field Officers: And the Third Division, on the left, led by Sir *Thomas Basset*, who was Major General of the *Cornish*. These Three Divisions fell on together with that Courage and Resolution, as nothing but Death could controul; and though the middle Division got into the Graff, and so nearly filled it, that some mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious Disadvantage of the Ground, and the full Defence the Belieged made within, they were driven back with a great Slaughter.

On Prince *Rupert's* Side it was assaulted with equal Courage, and almost equal Loss, but with better Success; for though that Division, led on by the Lord *Grandinson*, Colonel General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandinson* himself being wounded, and the other, led by Colonel *Bellasis*, likewise had no better Fortune; yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less Party, finding a Place in the Curtain (between the Places Assaulted by the other Two) weaker than the rest, enter'd, and quickly made room for the Horse to follow. The Enemy, as soon as they saw the Line enter'd in one Place, either out of Fear, or by Command of their Officers, quitted their Posts; so that the Prince enter'd with his Foot and Horse into the Suburbs, sending for One Thousand of the *Cornish* Foot, which were presently sent to Second him, and march'd up to *Fromegate*, losing many Men, and some very good Officers, by Shots from the Walls and Windows, insomuch as all Men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a Loss; for they had

had still a more difficult Entrance into the Town than they had yet passed, and where their Horse could be of no Use to them; when to the exceeding Comfort of Generals and Soldiers the City beat a Parley, which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their Hostages into his Hands, sent Colonel Garrand, and another Officer, to the Governour to Treat; and before Ten at Night, these Articles were agreed on, and Sign'd by all Parties.

1. *That the Governour Nathanael Fiennes, together with all the Officers both of Horse and Foot, now within and about the City of Bristol, Castle and Forts, may March out to Morrow Morning by Nine of the Clock, with their full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods: And that the Common Foot Soldiers March out without Arms, and the Troopers with their Horses and Swords, leaving their other Arms behind them, with a safe Convoy to Warminster; and after not to be molested in their March by any of the King's Forces for the space of Three Days.*

2. *That there may be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and Sick and Hurt Soldiers.*

3. *That the King's Forces march not into the Town till the Parliament Forces march out; which is to be at Nine of the Clock.*

4. *That all Prisoners in the City be deliver'd up; and that Captain Eyres, and Captain Cookin, who were taken at the Devises, be released.*

5. *That Sir John Horner, Sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Persons that are now in the City, may if they please, with their Goods, Wives and Families, Bag and Baggage, have free Liberty to return to their own Homes or Elsewhere, and there to rest in Safety, or Ride and Travel with the Governour and Forces: And such of them, and their Families, as shall be left behind, by Reason of Sicknefs, or other Cause, may have Liberty, so soon as they can conveniently, to depart this Town with Safety; provided that all Gentlemen and other Persons,*

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6. That all the Inhabitants of the City shall be secured in their Persons, Families and Estates, free from Plundering, and all other Violence or Wrong whatsoever.

7. That the Charters and Liberties of this City may be preserv'd; and that the Ancient Government thereof, and present Governours and Officers, may remain and continue in their former Condition, according to his Majesty's Charters and Pleasure.

8. That for avoiding Inconveniencies and Distractions, the Quartering of Soldiers be referr'd or left to the Mayor and Governour of the same City for the time being.

9. That all such as have carried any Goods into the Castle, may have free Liberty to carry the same forth.

10. That the Forces that are to march out, are to leave behind them all Cannon and Ammunition, with their Colours, and such Arms as is before express'd.

The next Morning his Highness was possess'd of Bristol, the Enemy then marching away. Here the Ill Example of *Reading*, in the Breach of the Articles, was remember'd with a Witness, and unhappily follow'd; for all that Garrison was now here. So that they and the rest, by their Example, us'd great Licence to the Soldiers, who should have been safely Conducted; which reflected much upon the Prince, though he us'd his utmost Power to suppress it; and charged Colonel *Fiennes* to be Accessary to his own Wrong, by marching out of the Town an Hour before his Appointment, and thereby his Convoy was not ready, and at another Gate than was appointed and agreed on. And as the Articles were thus basely violated to those who went away, so they were not near enough observ'd to those who staid, and to the City it self: For many of Colonel *Fiennes* Soldiers taking Conditions, and entering with the King's Army, instructed their new Friends, who were most distressed

affected; so that One whole Street upon the Bridge, the Inhabitants whereof lay under some Brand of Malignity, though no doubt there were many honest Men among them, was almost totally plunder'd; which because there was but little or no Justice done upon the Transgressors, was believ'd to be done by Connivance from the Officers, and more discredited the King's Forces, and his Cause, than was then taken notice of or discover'd.

This Reduction of *Bristol* was a full Tide of Prosperity to the King, and made him Master of the Second City of his Kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed Possession of one of the richest Counties of the Kingdom, and render'd *Wales* (which was before well affected, except some Towns in *Pembroke-shire*) more useful to him; being freed of the Fear of *Bristol*, and consequently of the Charge that always attends those Fears, and restored to the Trade with *Bristol*; which was the greatest Support of those Parts. But my Lord Cl—— says, yet the King might very well have said, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did after his Second Battle, by the City of *Asculum* with the *Romans*, where he won the Victory; 'if we win another at this Price we are utterly undone. And truly his Majesty's Loss before this Town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am perswaded there were Slain upon the several Assaults of Common Men, but such as were tried and incomparable Foot, above Five Hundred, and abundance of Excellent Officers, whereof many were of Prime Command and Quality. The Officers and People of Quality he Names and Characterizes thus.

On the *Cornish* Side fell, besides Major *Kendall*, Characters and many other Interior Officers, Excellent in their Degree Colonel *Buck*, a Modest and Stout Commander, and of Good Experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the Top of the Wall, was knock'd down with a Halbert, and perish'd in the Graff. Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiments, whose Memories can never be enough Celebrated; who being led by no Impulsi-

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Sir Ni-
cholas
Slanning.

on but of Conscience, and their own Observation of the ill Practices and Designs of the great Conductors, (for they both were of the House of Commons) engaged themselves with the first in the Opposition; and as soon as Sir *Ralph Hopton* and those other Gentlemen, came into *Cornwal*, join'd with them; and being both of singular Reputation and good Fortunes there, the one in Possession, the other in Reversion after his Father, they engaged their Persons and Estates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken Notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all Infirmities, and condescending to all Capacities, for removing all Obstructions which accidentally arose among those who could only prosper by being of one Mind: Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was Governour of *Pendennis-Castle*, upon the Credit and Security whereof, the King's Party in that Country first depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a Young Man of admirable Parts, a sharp and discerning Wit, a steady and solid Judgment, a gentle and most obliging Behaviour, and a Courage so clear and keen, as even without the other Ornaments would have render'd him very Considerable: They were both Young, neither of them above Eight and Twenty, of Entire Friendship to one another, and to Sir *Bevil Greenwil*, whose Body was not Buried; they were both Hurt almost in the same Minute, and in the same Place, both shot in the Thigh with Musquet Bullets, their Bones broken, the one Dying presently, the other some few Days after; and both had the Royal Sacrifice of their Sovereign's very Particular Sorrow, and the Concurrence of all good Men's; and that which is a greater Solemnity to their Memories, as it fares with most Great and Virtuous Men, whose Loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented as the Accidents in the Publick Affairs made the Courage and Fidelity of the *Cornish* of greatest Signification to the Cause.

On the North side, of Prince *Rupert's* Army fell
very

very many good Officers, the Chief of whom was Colonel *Harry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Industry and Courage; near whom, his Excellent Lieutenant, Colonel *Moyle*, was likewise hurt, and died within few Days, both shot out of a Window after they had enter'd the Suburbs. There were hurt the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Bellasis*, since Lord *Bellasis*; Colonel *Bernard Ashley*, Colonel Sir *John Owen*, and many Officers of Name, of whom none of Quality died of their Wounds but the Lord *Grandison*, whose Loss can never be enough lamented. He was a Young Man of so Virtuous a Habit of Mind, that no Temptation or Provocation could corrupt him; so great a Lover of Justice and Integrity, that no Example, Necessity, or even the Barbarity of this War, could make him swerve from the most precise Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court or Camp could not shew a more faultless Person, or to whose Example young Men might more reasonably conform themselves. His Personal Valour and Courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the Corrupt Opinion of Honour, as to venture himself in Duels) was very Eminent, inasmuch, as he was accused of being too prodigal of his Person; his Affection, Zeal, and Obedience to the King, was such as became a Branch of that Family. And he was wont to say, 'That if he had not Understanding enough to know the uprightness of the Cause, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very Obligations of Gratitude to the King on the behalf of his House, were such as his Life was but a due Sacrifice to; and therefore he no sooner saw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren as well as himself in the Service; and there were then Three more of them Commanders in the Army, where he was so unfortunately Cut of.

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Col. Lunsford

Lord
Grandi.
son.

As the taking of *Bristol* added great Lustre and Beauty to the whole Face of the King's Affairs, so it must produce an equal Paleness, and be an Ominous Presage to the Parliament; where the

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The Two
Houses send
Commissioners
into
Scotland
for relief.

Jealousies and Apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new Remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the Disease. But not to be wanting to themselves upon the News of the Lord *Fairfax's* being Defeated in the North, which came about this Time, they resolv'd to send a Committee, of the Two Houses into Scotland, ' to desire their Brethren of that Kingdom ' presently to advance with an Army for their Relief ; which was thought so desperate a Cure, that the Lord's naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey of Warke*, for that Embassie, the Earl, upon Indisposition of Health, procured a Release ; and the other, who had never declined any Employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower, and in the end they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service : And so Sir *William Armyne*, Young Sir *Henry Vane*, and Two more, assisted with Mr. *Marshal* and Mr. *Nye*, Two of their Principal Clergy, were Imbar- ked in that Negotiation. On the other Hand, how to work upon these discomposed Hu- mours, and to make Peace, was the Argument of the King's Consultations : Some were of Op- inion, ' that all the Members who staid there, and ' fate in either House, being Guilty of so many ' Treasonable Acts, thereby the Parliament was ' actually dissolv'd, by the same Reason, as a Cor- ' poration, by great Misdemeanor and Crime, ' might forfeit their Charter ; and therefore that ' the King should, by his Proclamation, declare ' the Dissolution of it, and then consider whether ' it were fit to Call another : But this Opinion was generally disliked, both ' because it was ' conceiv'd not to be Just ; for the Treason of ' those who were present could not forfeit the ' Right of those who were away ; neither was it ' Evident that all that were present consented ' to the Ill that was done ; and the King's declar- ing a Parliament to be dissolv'd, contrary to an Act of Parliament, was believ'd would prove an Act so ungracious to the People, for the Consequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding Loser ' by such an Attempt : And that many in such a ' Case

‘ Case would return thither, who out of Conscience
 ‘ had withdrawn from that Assembly. In Conclusion
 ‘ the Advice was unanimous, ‘ that his Majesty
 ‘ should declare the Orders and Proceedings of
 ‘ One or Both Houses to be void, by Reason the
 ‘ Members did not enjoy the Freedom and Liberty of
 ‘ Parliament, and therefore should require his
 ‘ Good subjects no longer to be misled by them :
 And to that Purpose, the King had issued his
 Proclamation Six Weeks before this Turn in his
 Affairs, so that he could not now send a Message to
 them, as Two Houses of Parliament, lest he
 might seem to retract his former Judgment of
 them, which were concluded to be both Regular
 and Just. Upon the whole Matter, lest the King
 might be understood to be so much related with
 his Good Successes, and the Encrease of his Strength,
 that he aim’d at no less than a Perfect Victory,
 and the Ruin of those who had incensed him, and an
 Absolute Power, which indeed was a thing all along
 dreaded from him, he resolv’d to Publish this Decla-
 ration to the whole Kingdom, which I shall enter in
 own Words,

*His Majesties Declaration to all his Loving Subjects, after
 his Victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North,
 Sir William Waller in the West, and the taking of
 Bristol by his Majesties Forces.*

‘ AS the Grievances and Losses of no Particular *The King’s*
 ‘ Persons, since these Miserable Bloody Distem- *Declara-*
 ‘ pers have disquieted this Poor Kingdom, can be *tion after*
 ‘ compar’d to the loss and Damage we our self *his late*
 ‘ have sustain’d, there having been no Victory ob- *Successes.*
 ‘ tain’d but in the Blood of our own Subjects, nor
 ‘ no Rapine or Violence committed but to the Im-
 ‘ poverishment and Ruin of our People ; so a Blef-
 ‘ sed and Happy Peace cannot be so acceptable
 ‘ and welcome to any Man as to us. Almighty
 ‘ God, to whom all Secrets of our Heart are open,
 ‘ who hath so often and so miraculously Preserv’d
 ‘ Us, and to whose Power alone We must attribute
 ‘ the Goodness of our Present Condition (how
 ‘ unhappy soever it is with Reference to the Pub-
 ‘ lick

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lick Calamities) knows with what Unwillingness, with what Anguish of Soul, We submitted our selves to the Necessity of taking up Defensive Arms. And the World knows with what Justice and Bounty We have repair'd our Subjects for all the Pressures and Inconveniences they had born by such Excellent Laws as would for ever have Prevented the like ; and with what Earnestness and Importunity We desired to add any Thing for the Establishment of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all these have been disturb'd, invaded, and almost destroy'd by Faction, Sedition and Treason, by those who have neither Reverence to God, nor Affection to Men, but have Sacrificed Both to their own Ends and Ambition, is now so evident, that We Hope as God hath wonderfully manifested His and Our most Just Cause, so he hath so far touch'd the Hearts of our People, that their Eyes are at last open'd to see how miserably they have been seduced, and to abhor those Persons, whose Malice and Subtilty had seduced them to dishonour Him, to rebel against Us, and to bring much Misery and Calamity upon their Native Country.

We well Remember the Protestation Voluntarily made by Us in the Head of that small Army we were Master of in *September* last, to defend and maintain the True Reform'd Protestant Religion: And if it should please God by his Blessing upon that Army to Preserve Us from this Rebellion, that We would maintain the Just Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and govern by the Laws of the Land ; for whose Defence in Truth that Army was only rais'd, and hath been since kept. And there cannot be a more Seasonable Time to renew that Protestation than Now, when God hath vouchsafed Us so many Victories and Successes, hath render'd the Power of those who seek to Destroy Us less Formidable than it hath been, (so that We shall probably not fall under the Scandalous Imputation, which hath usually attended Our Messages of Peace, that they proceed from the Weakness of our Power, not Love of

our

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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our People) and when there is more Freedom in many Counties for our Good Subjects to receive True Information of their own and Our Condition, the Knowledge whereof hath been, with equal Industry and Injustice, kept from them, as other Acts of Cruelty have been imposed on them.

We do therefore declare to all the World, in the Presence of Almighty God, to whom We must give a strict Account of all our Professions and Protestations, that We are so far from intending any Alteration of the Religion establish'd (as hath been often falsely, scandalously, and against the Conscience of the Contrivers themselves of that Rumor, suggested to our People) or from the least Thought of invading the Liberty and Property of the Subject, or violating the Just Privileges of Parliament, that We call that God to witness, *who hath cover'd our Head in the Day of Battle*, that We desire from our Soul, and shall always use our utmost endeavour to Preserve and Advance the True Reform'd Protestant Religion, establish'd in the Church of *England* ; in which we were Born, have faithfully Liv'd, and by the Grace of God shall resolutely Die : That the Preservation of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, in the due Observation of the known Laws of the Land, shall be equally our Care, as the Maintenance of our own Rights ; We desiring to govern only by those good Laws, which till they were oppress'd by this Odious Rebellion, preserv'd this Nation Happy. And We do acknowledge the Just Privileges of Parliament to be an Essential Part of those Laws, and shall therefore most solemnly defend and observe them. So that in Truth if either Religion, Law, or Liberty, be Precious to our People, they will by their Submission to Us join with Us in the Defence of them, and thereby establish that Peace by which only they can flourish and be enjoy'd.

Whether

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‘ Whether these Men, that be profess’d Enemies to the establish’d Ecclesiastical Government, who Reproach and persecute the Learned Orthodox Ministers of the Church, and into their Places put Ignorant, Seditious, and Schismatical Preachers, who vilifie the Book of Common-Prayer, and impiously prophane God’s Worship with their Scurrilous and Seditious Demeanour, are like to Advance that Religion; whether those Men, who boldly, and without the least shadow or colour of Law, impose insupportable Taxes and odious Excises upon their Fellow Subjects, Imprison, Torment, and Murther them, are like to preserve the Liberty and Property of the Subject. And whether those Men, who seize and possess themselves of our own unquestionable Revenue, and our just Rights, have deny’d Us our Negative Voice, have by Force and Violence aw’d and terrified the Members of Both Houses, and lastly have, as far as in Them lyes, dissolv’d the present Parliament, by driving away and imprisoning the Members, and resolving the whole Power thereof, and more into a Committee of a few Men, contrary to all Law, Custom, or Precedent, are like to vindicate and uphold the Privileges of Parliament, all the World may judge.

‘ We do therefore once more conjure our Good Subjects, by their Memory of that Excellent Peace and firm Happiness, with which it pleased God to reward their Duty and Loyalty in time past; by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, which no Vow or Covenant, contriv’d and administer’d to, and by themselves, can cancel or evade; by whatsoever is dear and precious to them in this Life, or hoped or pray’d for in the Life to come, that they will remember their Duty, and consider their Interest, and no longer suffer Themselves to be misled, their Prince dishonour’d, and their Country wasted and undone by the Malice and Cunning of those State Impostors; who, under pretence of Reformation, would introduce whatsoever is Monstrous and Unnatural, both to Religion and Policy: But that they rather chuse quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property, and

and Liberty, founded and provided for by the Wisdom and Industry of former Times, and secured and enlarged by the Blessings upon the present Age, than to spend their Lives and Fortunes to purchase Confusion, and to make themselves liable to the most intolerable kind of Slavery, that is, to be Slaves to their Fellow Subjects ; who, by their prodigious, unheard-of Acts of Oppression and Tyranny, have given them sufficient Evidence What they are to expect at their Hands.

And let not our Good People, who have been misled, or, through want of Understanding, or want of Courage, submitted themselves to unwarrantable and disloyal Actions, be taught by these Seducers, that their Safety now consists in Despair ; and that they can only secure themselves for the Ills they have done by resolute and peremptory Disobedience. Revenge and Bloodthirstiness have never been imputed to Us, by those who have not left either our Government or Nature, unexamin'd, with the greatest Boldness and Malice. And all those who, since those bloody Diffractions, out of Conscience have return'd from their evil Ways to Us, have found that it was not so easie for them to repent as for Us to forgive. And whosoever have been misled by those whose Hearts from the beginning have design'd all this Mischief, and shall redeem their past Crimes by their present Service and Loyalty in the apprehending or opposing such who shall continue to bear Arms against Us, and shall use their utmost Endeavours to reduce those Men to their due Obedience, and to restore this Kingdom to its wonted Peace, shall have cause to magnifie our Mercy, and to repent the Trespases committed against so Just and Gracious a Sovereign. Lastly, We desire all our good Subjects, who have really assisted, or really wish'd Us well, now God hath done such wonderful Things for Us, vigorously to endeavour to put an End to all these Miseries, by bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horses, or Arms, to Our aid ; that so We being not wanting to ourselves, may with Confidence expect the Continuance

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‘ance of God’s Favour, to restore Us all to that
 ‘Blessed Harmony of Affections, which may establish
 ‘a firm Peace; without the speedy obtaining of
 ‘which, this Poor Kingdom will be utterly un-
 ‘done, though not absolutely lost.

As for the Effect of this Declaration we may meet
 with it hereafter, in the mean time the King found it
 high time to resolve to what Action next to dispose
 his Armies, and that their lying still so long had
 more weaken’d, than refresh’d them; having not
 lost more Men by storming the City, of *Bristol*,
 whither he went in Person to compose some Diffe-
 rence about the Government of it, than afterwards
 by plundering it: Those Soldiers, who had warm’d
 themselves with the Burthen of Pillage, never quietly
 again submitting to the Carriage of their Arms.
 The Question was first, ‘whether Both Armies
 ‘should be united, and march in One, upon the
 ‘next Design? and then, ‘What that Design
 ‘should be? Against the First, there were many
 Allegations.

1. ‘The Condition of the West: *Dorset-shire*
 ‘and *Devonshire* were entirely possess’d by the
 ‘Enemy; for though Sir *John Berkley* with a daring
 ‘Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the
 ‘North Part, (which was notoriously disaffected)
 ‘from joining with *Plymouth*, which would else
 ‘quickly have grown into an Army strong enough
 ‘to infest *Cornwal*, yet they had no place to retire
 ‘to upon Distress; and all the Ports upon the We-
 ‘stern Coasts were Garrison’d by the Parliament,
 ‘which, upon the Fame of the approach of the
 ‘King’s Forces, and the Loss of *Bristol*, might pro-
 ‘bably be without much Resistance reduced.

2 ‘The *Cornish* Army was greater in Reputation
 ‘than Numbers, having lost many at *Lansdown*,
 ‘and the Assault of *Bristol*, and by the Death of their
 ‘Chief Officers very many were run away since:
 ‘Besides, they pretended some Promise made to their
 ‘Country (which they conceiv’d not to be enough
 ‘secur’d against *Plymouth*) of returning speedily for
 ‘the Reduction of that Town; so that if they were
 ‘compell’d to march Eastwards, to which they were
 ‘not inclin’d, it was to be doubted they would
 ‘moulder

‘ moulder away so fast, that there would be little
 ‘ Addition of Strength by it. Whereas if they
 ‘ march’d Westward, it would be no hard Matter to
 ‘ gather up those who were return’d, and to be
 ‘ strong enough in a very short time, by New Le-
 ‘ vies, for any Enterprize should be thought Reason-
 ‘ able to be undertaken. To which was added,
 ‘ that having lost those Officers whom they lov’d
 ‘ and fear’d, and whose Reverence restrain’d their
 ‘ Natural Distempers, they were too much inclin’d
 ‘ to Mutiny, and had express’d a peremptory Aver-
 ‘ sion to the joining and marching with the King’s
 ‘ Army. And the truth is, their Humours then
 were not very gentle and agreeable, as being apt to
 think that their Prowess was not enough recom-
 penced or valued. For though the King affected to
 make all possible Demonstrations to them of an ex-
 traordinary high Esteem he had of their wonder-
 ful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure
 very little Money for them; and they had then, by
 the Discipline under which they had been train’d,
 (which was most Regular, and full of that Sobriety
 which promised good Fortune) an Honest Pride in
 their own Natures, a great Disdain of Plundering, or
 supplying themselves by those vile Arts, which
 they grew afterwards less Tender to avoid.

3. The great Number of the King’s Horse,
 ‘ which was so brave a Body, that when that Part
 ‘ of it which was joyn’d to the *Cornish* was away,
 ‘ he should march with at least Six Thousand
 ‘ Horse, which were as many as would be able on
 ‘ live on any Country within a due distance of Quar-
 ‘ tering.

4. Lastly, Some Correspondence with the Chief
 ‘ Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire*, who were ready to join
 ‘ with any considerable Party for the King, and had
 ‘ some probable Hopes that the small Garrisons upon
 ‘ the Coast would not make a Tedious Resist-
 ‘ ance.

There was another Reason, which was not given,
 that if Both Armies had been kneaded into one,
 Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Co-
 lonel: But there were enough besides to satisfy
 the King to keep them divided; and so he gave
 Order

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Prince Maurice sent into the West with an Army.

Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to Advance towards *Dorchester*, (the Chief Town in that County, where the Parliament had a Garrison) with the Horse and Dragoons, and the next Day to Prince *Maurice*, to march after him with the Foot and Cannon.

The next Resolution to be taken was concerning the King's own Motion with the other Army. There was not a Man about him who did not think the reducing of *Glocester*, a City within little more than Twenty Miles of *Bristol*, of mighty Importance to the King, if it might be done without a great Expence of time, and Loss of Men: ' It was the only Garrison the Parliament had between *Bristol* and *Lancashire*, on the North Part of *England*, and if it could be recover'd, his Majesty would have the River of *Severn* entirely within his Command; whereby his Garrisons of *Worcester*, and *Shrewsbury*, and all those Parts, might be supplied from *Bristol*; and the Trade of that City thereby so advanced, that the Customs and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the King, and the Wealth of the City encreasing, it might bear the greater Burthen for the War: A rich and populous County, which hitherto rather yielded Conveniences of Quarter, than a settled Contribution, (that strong Garrison holding not only the whole Forrest Division, which is a Fourth Part of the County of *Glocester*, absolutely in Obedience, but so alarm'd all other Parts, that none of the Gentry, who for the most Part were well-affected, durst stay at their own Houses) might be wholly the King's Quarters; and by how much it had offended, and disquieted the King more than other Counties, by so much the more Money might be raised upon them. Besides, the General Weekly Contributions, the Yeomantry, who had been most Forward and Seditious, being very Wealthy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high Price; (and these Arguments were fully press'd by the well-affected Gentry of the County, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffer'd very much by doing so, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work were first done: Beside all this, ' If *Glocester* were reduced, there would need no Forces

Forces to be left in *Wales*, and all those Soldiers might be then drawn to the marching Army, and the Contributions and other Taxes assign'd to the payment of it. 1643.

Yet all these Motives were not thought worth the engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; whilst the Parliament might both recover the Fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the Distempers, and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those Counties which were most oppress'd by the Enemy, and there wait such Advantage, as the Distraction in and about *London* would administer, except there could be some probable hope that *Gloucester* might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been secret Agitations, the Effect whereof was hourly expected. The Governour of that Garrison was one Colonel *Massy*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had in the late Northern Expeditions prepared by the King against *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army, under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and in the beginning of these Troubles had been at *York*, with Inclination to serve the King; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten, he went to *London*, where there was more Money, and fewer Officers, and was easily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout Officer, and of no ill Parts of Conversation, to render himself acceptable among the Common People, was by his Lordship, when he went into the West, left Governour of that City of *Gloucester*, where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair that this Man might not be wrought upon. And Colonel *Leg*, who had the good Opinion of most Men, and the particular Kindness of Prince *Rupert*, had sent a Messenger, who was like to pass without Suspicion to *Gloucester*, with such a Letter of Kindness and Overture to *Massy*, as was proper in such a Cause from one Friend to another. This Messenger return'd when the King's and the Army's Motion was under Debate, and brought an Answer from the Governour to Colonel *Leg* in a very high

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high Style, and seeming to take it very unkindly that he should endeavour to Corrupt him in his Honesty and Fidelity, and to perswade him to break a Trust, which to save his Life he would never do; with much Discourse of his Honour and Reputation, which would be always dear to him. But the Messenger said withal, that after the Governour had given him this Letter, and some sharp Reproaches before Company, he was brought again a Back Way to a Place where the Governour was by himself, and then he told him, that it was most necessary he should write such an Answer as he had done, which was communicated to those, who else would have been jealous what such a Messenger should come to him about, but that he should tell Colonel Leg that he was the same Man he had been, his Servant; and that he wish'd the King well; that he heard Prince *Rupert* meant to bring the Army before that Town; if he did, he should defend it as well as he could; and his Highness would find another Work than he had at *Bristol*: But if the King himself came with his Army, and summon'd it, he would not hold it against Him; for it would not stand with his Conscience to fight against the Person of the King; besides, that in such a Case he should be able to perswade those of the Town, which otherwise he could not do.

This Message turn'd the Scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great Objection against the King's marching that Way with his Army; since it would be still in his Power to pursue any other Council, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprison'd the Messenger who came to him on such an Errand. Hereupon the King resolv'd for *Glocester*, but not to be engaged in a Siege, and so sent his Army that way; and the next Day (having first sent Sir *Ralph Hopton* a Warrant to Create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, in Memory of the happy Battle fought there) with the remainder of his Forces march'd towards it.

On

On *Wednesday*, the Tenth of *August*, the King 1643.
ranged his whole Army upon a fair Hill, in the
clear View of the City, and within less than Two
Miles of it; and then, being about Two of the Clock
in the Afternoon, he sent a Trumpet with this Sum-
mons to the Town.

*The King
marches to-
wards Glo-
cester, and
Summons it,
Aug. 10.*

‘ Out of our tender Compassion to our City of Glo-
‘ cester, and that it may not receive Prejudice by our
‘ Army, which We cannot prevent if We be com-
‘ pelled to Assault it, We are Personally come before
‘ it to require its delivery; and are graciously pleased
‘ to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other Persons
‘ within that City, as well Soldiers as others know,
‘ that if they shall immediately submit *themselves*,
‘ and deliver this Our City to Us, We are contented
‘ freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them
‘ without exception; and do assure them in the
‘ Word of a King, that they nor any of them shall re-
‘ ceive the least Damage or Prejudice by Our Army
‘ in their Persons or Estates, but that We will ap-
‘ point such a Governour, and a Moderate Gar-
‘ rison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease
‘ and Security of that City, and that whole County.
‘ But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and
‘ Favour, and compel Us by the Power of Our Army
‘ to reduce that Place (which by the help of God
‘ We doubt not We shall be easily and shortly able
‘ to do) they must thank *Themselves* for all the
‘ Calamities and Miseries that must befall them. To
‘ this Message We expect a clear and positive An-
‘ swer within Two Hours after the publishing here-
‘ of; and by these Presents do give leave to any Per-
‘ sons safely to repair to and return from Us, whom
‘ that City shall desire to employ unto Us in that
‘ Business: And do require all the Officers and
‘ Soldiers of our Army quietly to suffer them to pass
‘ accordingly.

Within less than the time prescribed, together
with the Trumpeter return’d Two Citizens from
the Town, lean, pale, sharp and bad Visages, in-
deed Faces so strange and unusual in such a garb
and posture, that at once made the most severe
Countenances merry, and the most chearful Hearts
sad; and these without any Circumstances of Duty

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or good Manners, in a pert, shrill, undismay'd Accent, said, ' they had brought an Answer from the ' Godly City of *Gloucester* to the King, which was to this Effect.

The Citizens and Garrisons Answer.

' We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers and ' Soldiers, within this Garrison of *Gloucester* unto ' his Majesty's Gracious Message return this humble ' Answer: That We do keep this City according ' to our Oaths and Allegiance, to and for the use of ' his Majesty and his Royal Posterity: And do ' accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to ' obey the Commands of his Majesty, signified ' by Both Houses of Parliament: And are resolv'd, by God's help, to keep this City accordingly.

This Paper was subscribed by *Wise* the Mayor, and *Massy* the Governour, with Thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, and Eleven Officers of the Garrison; and as soon as their Messengers return'd, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire; so that there was no doubt the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates and new Resolutions. This Indignity and Affront to the King prompted Thoughts of Revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in Honour he could not do less than sit down before the Town, and Force it: And these Inclinations gave Countenance and Credit to all those plausible Informations ' of small Provisions ' in the Town, either of Victuals or Ammunition; ' that where the Town was strongest there was ' nothing but an old Stone Wall, which would ' fall upon an easie Battery; that there were many ' well-affected People in the Town, who with those ' who were incensed by burning of the Suburbs, ' and the great Losses they must sustain thereby, ' would make such a Party, that as soon as they ' were distressed the seditious Party would be ' forced to yield. It was alledged, ' that the Enemy ' had no Army; nor by all Intelligence was like to ' form any soon enough to be able to relieve it; and ' if they had an Army, that it was much better for ' his

his Majesty to Force them to that distance from London, and fight there, where he could be supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could chuse his own Ground, and where his brave Body of Horse would be able to Defeat any Army they could raise, than to seek them in their own Quarters.

Above all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the best Experience moved His Majesty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near View of it, were clear of Opinion that they should be able in less than Ten Days by Approach, for all Thoughts of Storming was laid aside upon the Loss at Bristol, to win it. So the King presently sent to Oxford for his General, the Earl of Brentford to come to him, with all the Foot that could be spared out of that Garrison, and his Pieces of Battery, to manage the Siege: Prince Rupert wisely declining that Province, and retiring himself into the Generalship of the Horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accident which should attend that Service. At the same instant Orders were dispatched to Sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the Forces in South Wales (the Lord Herbert having been perswaded so far to comply with the Indisposition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at least for a time to dissemble it) to draw all his Men to the Forest side of the Town, where the Bridges being broken down, a small Force would keep in the Garrison.

We shall at present leave this Siege, and return to London, where we find a Book put out about this time by Mr. Saltmarsh, a Minister, gave great Offence to sober, well-meaning Men. He among other Things having these Positions, 1. That all Means should be used to keep the King and his People from any sudden Agreements. 2. That the War should be cherished under the Notion of Popery, as the surest Way to engage the People; and that if the King would not grant their Demands, then to root him out, and the Royal Line, and to Confer the Crown upon Some body else. These Positions were so extravagant, that some could not but except against them in the House of Commons; upon

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upon which Mr. *Martin* said, He saw no reason to Condemn Mr. *Saltmarsh*, and that it would be better one Family were destroy'd than many. Mr. *Nevil Pool* thereupon moved that Mr. *Martin* might explain what Family he meant; who boldly answered, the King and his Children; for which he was after some sharp Rebukes for his Leudness of Life, and otherways, committed to the *Tower*, but shortly after discharged.

All this while divers Members of Both Houses of Parliament were Members of the Assembly of Divines, and had the same Liberty to Sit, Debate and Give their Votes, wherein Mr. *Selden* behaved himself admirably well, and confuted several of them in their own Learning; and sometimes when they had cited a Text to prove their Assertion, he would tell them, perhaps in your little Pocket-book with Gilt Leaves (which they would often pull out and read) the Translation may be so, but the *Greek* or the *Hebrew* signifies thus and thus, and so would totally silence them. But enough of this Matter.

Whatever Insolence some at *London* might be guilty of in respect to the Royal Family, and Established Church, the direful News of the Surrender of *Bristol*, brought to the Two Houses on the 31st of *July*, struck them to the Heart. Every Man reproach'd his Neighbour with his want of Inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wisdom, for having fear'd 'it would come to This. The King's last Declaration had been read by most Men, and was magnified as a most Gracious and Undeniable Instance of his Clemency and Justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good Successes and Power almost to have what he would, that he renew'd all those Promises and Protestations for the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; and Privileges of Parliament, which had been out of their Perverseness discredited before, as proceeding from the low Condition he was in; and whereas they had been frighted with the Representation of their own Guilt, and the Implacableness of the King's Nature, as if he meant an utter Conquest of them, His Majesty had now

offer'd all that could be honestly desired, and had express'd himself a Prince not delighted with Blood and Revenge, but an Indulgent Father to the most disobedient Children. In this Juncture of Affairs the Lords in their House debated nothing but Expedients for Peace: There were not of that Body above Five at the most who had any Inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Essex* had sufficiently declared that He was weary of it, and held closest and strictest Correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an Accommodation. So that on the Fifth of *August* they desired a Conference with the Commons; and declared to them that they were resolv'd to send Propositions to the King, and they hoped, They would concur in them: The Particulars propos'd by them were.

1. That both Armies might be presently disbanded, and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon such Security as should give him Satisfaction. *Propositions for Peace given by the Lords to the Commons.*

2. That Religion might be settled with the Advice of a Synod of Divines, in such a Manner as His Majesty, with the Consent of Both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

3. That the Militia both by Sea and Land might be settled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts and Ships of the Kingdom put into such Hands as the King should appoint, with the Approbation of Both Houses of Parliament: And His Majesty's Revenue to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him; only deducting such Part as had been of necessity expended for the Maintenance of his Children, and not otherwise.

4. That all the Members of Both Houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or meer compliance with his Majesty, and no other Matter of Fact against them, might be restored to their Places.

5. That all Delinquents from before the Tenth day of *January* 1641 should be deliver'd up to the Justice of Parliament, and a General Pardon for all others on Both Sides.

6. And lastly, That there might be an Act of Oblivion.

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‘ Oblivion for all past Deeds, and Acts of Hosti-
 ‘ lity.

When the Conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful, long, and a hot Debate, which lasted till Ten that Night, and continued a Day or Two more; the more violent Party inveighed furiously against the Design it self, of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular Propositions so much as consider’d: ‘ They had receiv’d much Prejudice by the ‘ last Treaty at *Oxford*, and therefore must undergo ‘ more now their Condition was much lower: ‘ The King had since that, upon the Matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were ‘ not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that ‘ till that Point were vindicated they could not ‘ Treat in any safe Capacity, but would be look’d ‘ upon under the Notion of Rebels, as His Majesty ‘ had declared them. They had sent Members into ‘ *Scotland* to require Assistance, which that Kingdom ‘ was preparing with all Brotherly Affection and ‘ Forwardness, and after such a Discovery, to Treat ‘ for Peace without the privity of the *Scots*, was to ‘ betray them, and to forfeit all Hopes hereafter ‘ of Relief from thence, what Necessities soever they ‘ might be reduced to. That the City of *London* ‘ had expressed all imaginable Readiness to raise ‘ Forces for Sir *William VValler*; and the Counties ‘ near *London* were ready to rise as one Man, whereby ‘ the Earl of *Essex* would be speedily enabled to ‘ march with a better Army than ever he had, to ‘ give the King Battle, except this Discourse of ‘ Peace did extinguish the Zeal that was then flaming ‘ in the Hearts of the People. But notwithstanding these Reasons, and the Passion in the Delivery, the Terror of the King’s Successes suggested Answers enough. ‘ They had been punish’d for breaking off ‘ the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they might have ‘ had better Terms than now they could expect; ‘ and if they omitted this Opportunity they should ‘ fare much worse; that they were not sure of Aid ‘ from *Scotland*, neither was it almost possible it ‘ should come time enough to preserve them from the ‘ Ruin at Hand. And for the City of *London*, ‘ though

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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though the Common and meaner Sort of People, who might promise themselves Advantages by it, desired the Continuance of the Distractions, yet it was Evident the most Substantial and Rich Men desired Peace, by their refusal to supply Money for the carrying on the War; and if they should judge of the Common People by their Forwardness to engage their own Persons, they had Reason to believe they had no Mind to the War neither; for their General was forced to retire, even under their own Walls, for want of Men to recruit his Army. However, the sending reasonable Propositions to the King would either procure a Peace, and so they should have no more need of an Army; or, being refused, would raise more Men and Money than all their Ordinances without it. These Reasons and Arguments prevail'd; and after the Debate had lasted till Ten at Night, it was resolv'd upon the Question, and carried by Nine and Twenty Voices, that they should insist upon the Propositions, and send to His Majesty.

And without doubt if they had then sent (as if the Power had been in the Two Houses of Parliament, they had done) a firm Peace had immediately ensued: But this was too well known to be suffer'd to pass; and therefore the next Day, being *Sunday*, many Preachers fill'd all the Pulpits with Alarms of 'Ruin and Destruction to the City if a Peace were now offered to the King; and printed Papers were scatter'd through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates, Posts, and the most Publick Places in the City and Suburbs, requiring 'all Persons well-affected to raise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next Morning, for that Twenty Thousand *Irish* Rebels were landed; which Information was likewise given that Day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewise set up, it was declared, 'that the Malignant Party had over-voted the Good, and if not prevented, there would be a Peace.

When the Minds of the People were thus prepared, *Pennington*, their own Lord Mayor, though on *Sunday*, call'd a Common Council, where a Petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking Notice

1643. notice of Propositions passed by the House of Peers for Peace; which if consented to, and allow'd, would be destructive to Religion, Laws and Liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an Ordinance, according to the Tenour of an Act of their Common Council, (which they appointed to be annex'd to their Petition) which was for the vigorous Prosecuting the War, and declining all Thoughts of Accommodation. With this Petition, and such an Attendance as those Preparatives were like to bring, the Lord-Mayor himself, who from the time of his Mayoralty had forborn sitting in the House as a Member, came to the House of Commons, and deliver'd it, with such farther Insinuations of the Temper of the City, as were fit for the Purpose; the People at the Door behaving themselves as imperiously, telling the Members of Both Houses as they pass'd by them, that if they had not a good Answer they would be there the next Day with double the Number. The Lords complain'd of the Tumults, and sent to the Commons to join with them in their Suppression; instead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for Fear, and others by Fear converted, or it may be by Hope of prevailing) gave the City Thanks for their Petition, Advice and Courage, and rejected the Propositions for Peace.

A Petition of the Common Council of London against Peace.

This raised a new Contest in the City, which was not willing to lye under the perpetual Brand of resisting and opposing Peace, as they did of first raising the War. And therefore the Wise Part of it would gladly have discover'd how adverse they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins* and *Chaloner*, and the Advantage which was presently taken against any Man who was moderately inclined, frighted all Men from appearing in Person to desire those things, upon which their Hearts were most set. In the end, the Women express'd greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Body of that Sex, appearing in the Beginning of these Distractions with a Petition

Petition to the House of Commons, with Acceptance and Approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Substantial Citizens came to the House of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horse, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decay'd Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for, who behaved themselves with such Inhumanity, that they Charged among the silly Women as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and kill'd and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther Vexation of this kind, special Notice was taken of those Members who seem'd most importunate and desirous of Peace, that some Advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon they well discerning the Danger they were in, many, Both of the Peers and the Commons, first absented themselves from the Houses, and then remov'd into those Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King and some of them came directly to *Oxford*.

Having diverted this Torrent, they consider'd their Strength, and applied themselves to the Recovery of the Spirit of their General, whose Indisposition troubled them more than any other Distress they were in. To this Cure they apply'd Remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet Work to the same End. First they carest Sir *William Waller* with wonderful Kindness and Esteem: And as he was met upon his Return to *London*, after the most entire Defeat that could almost be imagin'd, with all the Train'd bands and Militia of *London*, and receiv'd as if he had brought the King Prisoner with him, so he was immediately chosen Governour and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declared, that they would forthwith Supply him with a good Body of Horse and Foot to take the Field again, and relieve their Distressed Friends in the West. Then another Ordinance was passed to raise a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always steady to his first Principles, and never a Friend to any Overture of Accommodation,

An Ordinance for raising an Army under the Earl of Manchester.

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tion) in order to oppose the Earl of Newcastle; and to take Charge of all the associated Counties, which were *Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington*, and (by a new Addition) *Lincoln*, and for the speedy raising Men to join to those who would voluntarily List themselves under these Two Generals, there was an Ordinance passed Both Houses for the Pressing of Men; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the Earl of *Essex* discern that they had another Earl to trust to, and more Generals than One at their Devotion, they sent a formal Committee of Both Houses to him, to use all imaginable Art and Application to him to recover him to his former Vigour and Zeal in their Cause. They told him 'the high Value the Houses had of the Service he had done, and Hazards, Dangers and Losses, he had for their Sake undergone: That he should receive as ample Vindication for the Calumnies and Aspersions raised on him, as he could desire from the full Testimony and Confidence of the Two Houses; and if the Infamous Authors of them could be found, their punishment should be as notorious as their Libels: That no other Forces should be recruited till His were made up; and that all his Soldiers Arrears should be paid, and Cloaths presently sent for his Foot.

Whatever the Real Motives were, the Earl hereupon grew insensibly alter'd from his moderate Inclinations and Desire of Peace. But this Staggering of his frustrated the Design of many of the Lords that Way, and put them to other Resolutions; and so having render'd themselves very Ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of *Essex* might discover some of their Overtures, many of them left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters: The Earl of *Portland* and the Lord *Love-lace* (of whose good Affections to his Service the King had always Assurance, and who had only staid there as at a Place where they might do him more Service than any where else) directly to *Oxford*, and the Lord *Conway* shortly after them; the Earl of *Clare* into *Worcestershire*, and from thence,
by

by the King's free Acceptation, to *Oxford*; there being no other Objection against his Lordship than his staying so long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their Extravagances, he having no manner of Relation to the Court, render'd him to His Majesty's Opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford* and *Holland*, not without some Difficulty, their Purpose being discover'd or suspected, got into the King's Garrison at *Vallingford*, from whence the Governour gave Advertisement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the Leave of the House, retired for his Health to his House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*; which though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's Devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's Quarters, if he had not some Assurance of being safe there.

The Earls of Bedford, and Holland, put themselves into the King's Quarters, and others.

The Violent Party carried now all before them, and were well Content with the Absence of those who used to give them some Trouble and Vexation, and the Fame of all these Distractions and Disorders at *London* exceedingly disposed Men in all Places to reproach his Majesty's Stay before *Gloucester*; his Friends at *London* desiring that His Majesty should march directly thither, to take the Advantage of those Discomposures; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the Intelligence and Advice from thence, were very solicitous that the King would take that Resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined, But his Condition was believ'd to be in both Places better than it was; and that he had now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to restrain his Motion; whereas in Truth his was a weak Army, lessen'd exceedingly by the Losses it sustain'd before *Bristol*; and when that Part of it was march'd with Prince *Maurice* into the West, and which could not have march'd any other Way, the King had not much above Six Thousand Foot to march with, though he left none at *Bristol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appear'd a very small Army to have march'd towards

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towards *London*, though it is true the Horse was a Noble Body, and Superior in Number to that of the Foot.

There was likewise another Circumstance that few Men were then acquainted with, says my Lord Cl——: Upon the first News of the taking of *Bristol* His Majesty before he left *Oxford* had sent an Express to the Earl of *Newcastle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, 'that if he found the Business of *Hull* to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it block'd up at a Distance, which might restrain Excursions into the Country, and march with his Army into the Associated Counties for the Parliament; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire* and *Essex*, &c. But in the very time that his Majesty came before *Gloucester*, and before he took the Resolution to sit down before it, that Express return'd from the Earl of *Newcastle*, who inform'd him, 'that it was impossible for him to comply with his Commands, in marching with his Army into the Associated Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who had the best Regiments, and were among the best Officers, utterly refused to march. except *Hull* were first taken; and that he had not Strength enough to march and to leave *Hull* securely block'd up.

Debates in
the Coun-
cil at Ox-
ford how
those Lords
should be re-
ceiv'd.

The King was newly sat down before *Gloucester* when the Governour of *Wallinford* sent Notice to *Oxford* of the Arrival of those Two Earls; to whom the Lords of the Council return'd Direction, 'that they should stay there till the King's Pleasure was understood, to whom the Secretary had sent the Information, and desired His Majesty's Will concerning their Reception. The King well knew any Order he should give in it would be liable to many Objections, and he had not so good an Inclination to either of them, as to run any Inconvenience for their Sakes; the Earl of *Bedford* having serv'd in Person against him, as the General of the Parliament's Horse, and the Earl of *Holland*, in the King's Opinion, having done worse. And therefore His Majesty Commanded 'that his Privy Council should Debate the Mat-
ter

ter among themselves, present their Opinion
and Advice to him, and he would then deter-
mine what kind of Entertainment they should
have. The Opinions at the Board were several;
some thought, that His Majesty should receive
them very graciously, and with all outward Ex-
pressions of his Acceptance of their Return to
his Service, and that the Demeanour of all others
to them should be such as might make them
think themselves very welcome, without the least
taking Notice of any thing formerly done amiss
by them; which would be a great Encourage-
ment to others to come away too: So that the
Number and Quality of those who staid behind
would probably in a short time be so small that
they would have no Reputation in the Kingdom
to continue the War. Many differ'd diametri-
cally from this, and were so far from thinking
this Advice agreeable to the Dignity or Security
of the King, that they thought it not fit to ad-
mit them presently to the King's or Queen's Pre-
sence, till by their Carriage and Demeanour
they should give some Testimony of their
Affections: They had both taken the late Co-
venant, of which one Clause was to assist the
Forces raised by the Parliament, against the Ar-
my raised by the King, with many Reproaches
and known Scandals upon that Army. If they
had felt a true Remorse of Conscience for the
Ill they had done, they would have left that
Party, when that Covenant was to be imposed
upon them, which since they did not, that they
came now was to be imputed rather to the King's
Success, and the Weakness of that Power which
they had hitherto serv'd, than to any Reforma-
tion of their Understanding or Improvement of
their Allegiance: And that it was great Reason,
that they who had given such Arguments of just
Jealousie and Suspicion of themselves, should raise
a Confidence in their Loyalty and Affection by
some Act equal to the other; and therefore
none who had taken that Covenant should be ad-
mitted to the Presence of the King, Queen or
Prince, before he had taken some other Oath or
Covenant,

1643.

‘ Covenant, declaring an equal Hatred and abhor-
 ‘ ring of the Rebellious Arms which were taken
 ‘ up against His Majesty, and the Councils by
 ‘ which they were taken up. It was said, ‘ that
 ‘ the good or ill Reception of these Lords could
 ‘ have no influence upon the Actions or Delibe-
 ‘ rations at *Westminster* or *London*, or any conside-
 ‘ rable Persons there: That they were but single
 ‘ Men, without any considerable Dependence upon
 ‘ them: Whilst they had Reputation and Interest
 ‘ enough to do Good or Hurt, and the King’s
 ‘ Condition need their Attendance, they chose to
 ‘ be engaged against him; but Now, when they
 ‘ were able to do him no more Harm they came
 ‘ to receive Benefit and Advantage from him:
 ‘ That it was a common Argument Men used to
 ‘ alledge to themselves for their Compliance with,
 ‘ and Submission to, the Commands of the Par-
 ‘ liament, that if they did otherwise, their Seve-
 ‘ rity and Rigour was so great, that they and their
 ‘ Families were sure to be ruined; but, if the
 ‘ King prevailed, He was Gracious, Merciful, and
 ‘ would remit their Offences whensoever they cast
 ‘ themselves at his Feet; which Presumption if
 ‘ they should see confirm’d in this example, it
 ‘ would make the Observation of Conscience and
 ‘ Loyalty of no Price, and encourage those who
 ‘ were risen against him, and exceedingly disheart-
 ‘ en those who had been Honest and Faithful
 ‘ from the beginning: that there could ensue
 ‘ no Inconvenience from any Reservedness and
 ‘ Coldness towards them; for they durst not re-
 ‘ turn to *London*, having now made themselves Odi-
 ‘ ous to that Party, and having no Hope but from
 ‘ the Acceptance of His Majesty; which they should
 ‘ merit before they found. There was a third
 ‘ Opinion between these Extremes, ‘ that they
 ‘ should be neither Courted nor Neglected, but be
 ‘ Admitted to Kiss the King’s and Queen’s Hands,
 ‘ and to dispose themselves as they thought fit;
 ‘ and so to leave the rest to their future Demean-
 ‘ our: And to resolve which of these Opinions
 ‘ to follow, was another Motive for His Majesty’s
 ‘ sudden Journey to *Oxford*, where, upon his Arrival,
 his

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he caused the Council to meet the next Morning, and asked their Advice, ' whether the Earls ' of *Bedford* and of *Holland* should be admitted ' to come into *Oxford*, or obliged to return from ' whence they came? Or, if admitted, how they ' should be receiv'd, or contenananced by their Maje- ' sties? Surely there was some strange hidden and unaccountable Infatuation attended this Important Affair, which one should think no body should oppose, but indeed this Prince, generally speaking, ever stood too much upon his Punctilio's, and that very frequently to his Detriment.

All exaggerated ' the Carriage and foul Ingratitude of the Earl of *Holland* from the beginning ' of the Parliament; and the Earl of *Bedford*'s being General of the Horse in the Earl of *Essex*'s Army; and now when the Parliament was low, and they had lost their Credit and Interest there, they were come to the King, whom they had so much offended, and expected to be as much, it may be more, made of than they who had born the Heat of the Day; which would so much reflect upon the King's Honour, that Men would be exceedingly discouraged to serve him. Some moved, ' that they might be detain'd, and kept Prisoners of War, since they came into the King's Quarters without any Pass; others as plainly, and more vehemently, pressed, ' that they might not be suffer'd to come to *Oxford*, or where the King or Queen should be, but permitted to live in some other Place within the King's Quarters, until they should manifest their Affections by some Service. They who thought this too severe and unpolitick, proposed that they might be suffer'd to come to *Oxford*, that thereby they might be kept from returning to the Parliament, (which appear'd to most to be liable to many Exceptions) ' but that being at *Oxford*, they should not come to Court; and that no Privy Counsellor should visit them.

In this whole Debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. *Hide*, who seldom spoke without some Earnestness, was the only Man (except an-

1643. other, who brought no Credit to the Opinion, (the Lord *Savile*) who advised confidently, ' that they might be very graciously receiv'd by Both Their Majesties, and civilly be visited and treated by every Body; that other Men might by the Entertainment they received, be encouraged to desert the Parliament too. He said, ' it would be too great a Disadvantage to the King, and to his Cause, that whilst the Parliament used all the Industry and Artifices to corrupt the Duty and Affection of the Subject, and had their Arms open to receive and embrace all who would come to them, His Majesty should admit none to return to him who had been faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratifie and oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to their Hearts Desire, than by rejecting the Application of these Lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded. There was one Argument against their Admission urged very loudly, ' That it would disturb the Peace of the Place; the Earl of *Bedford* had Commanded that Part of the Army which infested the Marquis of *Hertford* at his Being at *Sherborn*, when the Marquis had sent *Harry Seymour* with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which the Earl reasonably declined at that time, and said, ' He would be ready when the Business of the Parliament should be over to wait upon the Marquis when he should require it. And some Men, who were near enough to the Marquis's Councils undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford* should be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every Day expected, would exact the Performance of his Promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The King during the whole Debate did not express any Thing of his own Sense, save that he seem'd well pleased with any Sharpness that was express'd towards the Earl of *Holland*. He said, ' that he was bound to his good Behaviour, by being under the Common Reproach of inclining too much to those who had used him worst;
of

‘ of which he would not be guilty: However, he did not think at this time that it would be good to make any Persons desperate, and therefore gave Order, ‘ That the Governour of ‘ *Wallingford* should permit them to continue their ‘ Journey to *Oxford*, where all Men might use ‘ what Civilities they pleased to them; and ‘ that Himself and the Queen would do that towards them, which upon their Application ‘ and Address they should think fit: And though this Determination was given, without the least Discovery of Grace towards the Persons of those Lords, and not without some Reflections of Prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table; which was evident enough by their Countenance, and the next Morning the King return’d to the Army.

The Reception of the Two Earls at *Oxford* being as cold as this Debate was warm, we now return to the Actions of the Field. Whilst the King continued before *Glocester*, his Forces in the *West* moved with a full Gale and Tide of Success. The Earl of *Carnarvon* march’d with the Horse and Dragoons, being near Two Thousand, into *Dorsetshire*, Two Days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Bristol*, and had made a fair Entrance upon the Reduction of that whole County before his Highness overtook him; and it was thought then that if the Prince had march’d more slowly, the Earl had perfected that Work. Upon the Surrender of *Bristol*, many of the Gentlemen and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had visited their Houses and Friends in their Journey to *London*, whither by their safe Conduct they went, and had made prodigious Discourses of the Fierceness and Courage of the Cavaliers (as most Men who run away or are beaten extol the Power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that resisting them begun to be thought a Matter impossible. One Mr. *Strode*, a Man much relied on in those Parts, and of a good Fortune, after he had visited his House, took *Dorchester*

1643.

Dorchester
surrender'd
to the
King.

Wey-
mouth,
and Port-
land Sur-
render'd to
the King's
Forces.

in his Way to *London*, and being desired by the Magistrates 'to view their Works and Fortifications, and to give his Judgment of them; after he had walked about them, he told them' that 'those Works might keep out the Cavaliers a-boat half an Hour; and then told them strange Stories of the Manner of Assaulting *Bristol*; and that the King's Soldiers made nothing of running up Walls Twenty Foot high, and no Works could keep them out; which he said not out of any Purpose to betray them, but had really so much Horror and Consternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Bristol* imprinted in his Mind, that he did truly believe they had scaled all those Forts and Places which were deliver'd to them; and he propagated this Fear and Trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came no sooner near *Dorchester* with his Horse and Dragoons but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plunder'd, and not suffer for the Ill they had done, deliver'd up the Town, with all their Arms, Ammunition, and Ordinance. The Fame of the Earl's coming had before frighted Sir *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe* Castles, (the House of the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, defended by 'his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her Assistance, and their own Security) from that Siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to *London* than Generals use to do, who have the Care and Charge of others, his Forces were presently dispersed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* infused the same Spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven; and that Example again prevail'd on the Island and Castle of *Portland*, (a Place not enough understood, but of wonderfull Importance) to all which the Earl granted Conditions, and receiv'd them into His Majesty's Protection.

Hither Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of

of the Enemies Fears to *Lyme* and *Poole*, the only Two Garrisons then left in their Possession, staid with his Army about *Dorchester* and *Weymouth* some Days, under the Notion of settling and disposing the Government of those Garrisons. Here the Soldiers taking Advantage of the Malignity of those Places to the King, used cruel Licence; neither was there Care to observe those Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon* took so ill, that he quitted the Command he had with those Forces, and return'd to the King before *Gloucester*: This Licence it's likely alienated the Affections of those Parts, very much, as well it might; those Two small Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believ'd inconsiderable, return'd so Peremptory a refusal to the Prince's Summons, that his Highness resolv'd not to attack them; and so march'd to *Exeter*, where he found all things in better Order, and that City more distressed than he had Reason to expect, by the Diligence and Dexterity of Sir *John Berkley*, who being sent from *Wells* by the Marquis of *Hertford* to govern the Affairs of *Devon-shire*, with one Regiment of Horse, and another of new-levied and half-arm'd Foot, had so encreased his Numbers by the Concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fixed strong Quarters within less than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a Strength equal in Number to the Besiegers. The Parliament recommended the Relief of this Place, by special Instructions to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whose having made shew of Landing Men in several Places upon the Coast, and thereby compelled Sir *John Berkley* to make quick and wearisom marches with Horse and Dragoons from Place to Place, the Wind coming fair the Fleet left those who attended their Landing about *Totness*, tack'd about, and with a fresh Gale made towards the River that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both Sides of the River, upon a Flat by their Cannon, the Earl presumed that

Prince
Maurice
comes be-
fore Exe-
ter with his
Army.

1643.

Way he should be able to send Relief into the City; but Sir *John Berkley* had fortunately cast up some slight Works upon the advantageous Nooks of the River, in which his Men might be in some Security from the Cannon of the Ships, and made great haste with his Horse to hinder their Landing; and so this Attempt was not only without Success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the Seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after Three or Four Hours pouring their great Shot from their Ships upon the Land Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick* fell off with his Fleet, leaving Three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other Two taken from the Land, in View of his whole Fleet; so that the Place was Sep. 14. surrendered to the Prince upon Articles.

Whilst the King's Forces were employed in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coast, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garrison of *Plymouth* encreased very fast, into which the Fleet disburthen'd themselves of all they could spare; and the North Parts of *Devonshire* gather'd apace into a Head for the Parliament; *Barnstable*, and *Bidiford* being Garrison'd by them; which having an uninterrupted Line of Communication with *Plymouth*, resolv'd to join their whole Strength, and so to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very easie to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preservation. Sir *John Berkley* having Notice of this Preparation and Resolution, sent Colonel *John Digby*, with his own Regiment of Horse, and some loose Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the Junction of the Parliaments Forces. He chose *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few Days had with him above Three Hundred Horse, and Six or Seven Hundred Foot. But those of *Bidiford* and *Barnstable* being superior in Number, and apprehending that the King's Successes Eastward, might encrease his strength and Power there, and weaken theirs, resolv'd to try their Fortunes; and joining themselves together, to the Number

ber of above Twelve Hundred Foot, and Three Hundred Horse, under the Command of Colonel Bennet, hoped to surprize Colonel Digby at Torrington; which was upon the Matter done: For tho' he had Notice in the Night from Barnstable, that the Forces drew out thence to Bidisford in the Night, and that they intended to fall on his Quarters early in the Morning, and thereupon put himself into a Posture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon such a Piece of Ground as in that inclosed County could be most advantageous for his Horse, having through all the little Inclosure cut Gaps, through which his Horse might enter, yet, after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his small Parties, which were sent out to enquire, return'd with Assurance, that there was no Appearance of an Enemy; he believ'd they had given over their design; and so dismissed his Horse to their several Quarters, reserving only One Hundred and Fifty upon their Guard, and return'd himself into the Town with the Foot.

But within less than an Hour he receiv'd the Alarm, that the Enemy was within half a Mile of the Town. The Confusion was very great, so that he resolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the best Manner he could upon the Avenues, himself went to the Horse out of the Town, resolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy, who were drawn up on the same Piece of Ground on which he had expected them all the Morning. The Colonel, whose Courage and Vivacity upon Action was very Eminent, and commonly very Fortunate, intended rather to look upon them than to engage with them before his other Troops came up; but having divided his small Party of Horse, the whole consisting but of One Hundred and Fifty, into several Parties, and distributed them into several little Closets, out of which there were Gaps into the larger Ground, upon which the Enemy stood, a forelorn Hope of Fifty Musqueteers advanced towards that Ground where himself was; and if they had recover'd the Hedge they would easily have

1643.

have driven him thence. And therefore as the only Expedient left, himself taking Four or Five Officers in to the Front with him, Charged that forelorn Hope; which immediately threw down their Arms, and run upon their own Body, and carried so infectious a Fear with them, that without making a Stand, or their Horse offering once to Charge, the whole Body routed themselves and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the Execution with his Horse, till their Swords were blunted with Slaughter, and his Numbers over-burthen'd with Prisoners; though the Foot out of the Town hasten'd to the Chase, as soon as they saw what Terror had possessed their Enemies. In this Action there were near Two Hundred killed, and above Hundred taken Prisoners. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horse, got into *Bidiford* and *Barnstable* and told strange Stories of the Horror and Fear that seized upon them, and that no Body saw above Six of the Enemy that Charged them, which proved a greater Dismay to their Friends than their Defeat.

Barnstable and Bidiford yielded to him.

At this Time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the Fame of whose Arrival brought a new Terror, so that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnstable* and *Bidiford*, being deliver'd to Colonel *Digby* within Two or Three Days after his Victory, those Two Towns shortly after submitted to His Majesty, upon Promise of Pardon, and such other Articles as were of Course; which Colonel *Digby* saw precisely observ'd, as far as concern'd the Towns in point of Plunder or Violence, towards the Inhabitants. And this Success brought the Colonel within very few Days, to encrease his small Party to the Number of Three Thousand Foot and Eight Hundred Horse; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* order'd to march to *Plymouth* and to block up that Place, from making Incursions into the Country.

The Prosecution of the Siege of Gloucester.

Now let us return to the Siege of *Gloucester*, where the Business proceeded very slowly; for though the Royal Army encreased wonderfully there, by the Access of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King

King had neither Money nor Materials requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themselves with great Courage and Resolution, and made many sharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and did more hurt commonly than they receiv'd; and many Officers of Name, besides Common Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches and Approaches; the Governour leaving nothing unperform'd that became a Vigilant Commander. Sometimes upon the Sallies the Horse got between the Town and them, so that many Prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and (as the Cavaliers alledged) after they were recover'd, they confess'd that the Governor always gave the Party that made the Salley as much Wine and Strong Water as they desired to Drink: But be this as it will, it is very observable, that in all the Time the King lay there with a very Glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater Name, there was no One Officer run from the Town to him, nor above Three common Soldiers, which was a great Argument the Discipline within was very good. Besides the Loss of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by Sickness, a very great Licence broke into the Army both among Officers and Soldiers; the Malignity of those Parts being thought excuse for the Exercise of any Rapine or Severity among the Inhabitants: Insomuch, as it is hardly to be credited, how many Thousand Sheep were in a few Days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the Commissaries for a Regular Provision; and many Country-men imprison'd by Officers without Warrant, or the least Knowledge of the King till they had paid good Sums of Money for their Delinquency; all which brought great Clamour upon the Discipline of the Army, and Justice of the Officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the Service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted, that might advance the Preparation for the Relief of Gloucester. All Overtures of Peace were suppress'd, and the City purely at the Devotion of those who were most against it, who
put

1643. put one Compliment upon them at this time that is not to be passed over. It was mentioned formerly that, at the beginning of these Distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the reiterated Importunity of the Two Houses, made Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*; who was a Soldier of very good Estimation, and had been the Lieutenant-General of his Horse in that last Preparation against the *Scots*, and Governour of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought by this Obligation to have made him their own Creature, and desired to have engaged him in some Active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse of that Time. But he warily declined that Engagement, and contained himself within the Limits of that Place, which by the Multitude of Prisoners sent to the Town by the Two Houses, and the Excessive Fees they paid, yielded him a vast Profit; in the Administration whereof he was so impartial, that those Prisoners who suffer'd most for His Majesty found no more Favour or Indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to Confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their Service, or should shortly lose the Benefit of their good Opinion, or some other Consideration not really known, he desired leave from the Houses to go into *Holland*, where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himself to a Time of Return. The Proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately Committed the Custody of the *Tower of London*, to the Lord Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own Reins, and had a Jurisdiction committed to them which had always jostled with their own. The Earl of *Essex* now declated that he would himself undertake the Relief of *Glooucester*, whereas before *Waller* was design'd to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was return'd to his old full Alacrity against the Royalists, and recover'd those Officers and Soldiers again to him, who

The Custody of the Tower committed by the Two Houses to the Lord Mayor Pennington.

who had absented by his Connivance, or upon an Opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers encreased not so fast as the Occasion required; for Colonel *Massy* found Means to send many Messengers out of the Town, to Advertise the Streights he was in, and the Time that he should be able to hold out.

1643.

At length so many Regiments of Horse and Foot as the Earl desired were assign'd to march with him; and so towards the end of *August* he march'd out of *London*, and having appointing a Rendezvous at *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*, and other Forces of the Associated Countries, from thence he march'd by easie Journeys towards *Gloucester*, with an Army of above Eight Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse. It would not first be credited in the Camp that the Earl could be in a Condition to attempt such a Work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Gloucester*, than that in Truth he would venture upon so tedious a March, where he must pass over a Campaign near Thirty Miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horse would distrefs, if not destroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Provision for Man nor Horse; and if he should without Interruption be suffer'd to go into *Gloucester*, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to *London*, without being destroy'd in the Rear by the King's Army, which should nevertheless not engage it self in the Hazard of a Battle. Upon these Conclusions they proceeded in their Works before *Gloucester*, their Galleries being near finish'd, and visibly a great Want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed with a good Party of Horse to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he should advance towards *Gloucester* and to give such Impediments to their March, as in such a Country might be easie to do; Prince

The Earl of Essex marches from London to relieve Gloucester.

Rupert

1643.

*The Siege
of Glou-
cester
rais'd.*

Rupert himself staying with the Body of Horse upon the Hills above *Gloucester*, to join, if *Effex* should be so hardy as to venture. The Earl came to *Brackly*, and having there taken in from *Leicester* and *Bedford*, the last Recruits upon which he depended, he march'd steadily over all that Campaign, which they thought he fear'd, towards *Gloucester*: And though the King's Horse were often within View, and entertain'd him with light Skirmishes, he pursued his direct Way; the King's Horse still retiring before him, till the Foot was compell'd to raise the Siege in more Disorder and Distraction than might have been expected: And so with less Loss, and easier Skirmishes than can be imagined, the Earl with his Army and Train march'd to *Gloucester*; where he found them reduced to one single Barrel of Powder, and all other Provisions answerable. And it must be confess'd that *Massey* the Governour was the Man that gave a stop to the Career of the King's good Success, and from his Perinacious Defence of that Place the Parliament had Time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and might acknowledge to this Rise, the Greatness to which they afterwards aspired.

The Earl of *Effex* staid in *Gloucester* (where he was receiv'd with all possible Demonstrations of Honour) Three Days; and in that time which was as wonderful as any Part of the Story, caused all necessary Provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very Quarters in which the King's Army had been sustain'd, and which they conceiv'd to be entirely spent: So sollicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them, which, without a Connivance from the King's Commissaries, could not have been done. All this time the King lay at *Sudley-Castle*, the House of the Lord *Chandois*, within Eight Miles of *Gloucester*, watching when that Army would return; which they conceiv'd stay'd rather out of Despair than Choice, in those bare Quarters; to open them a Way for their retreat his Majesty removed to *Evesham*, hoping the Earl

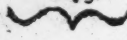
Earl would chuse to go back the same Way he came ; and thereupon the Earl march'd to *Temkesbury*, as if he had no other Purpose. The King's Horse, though Bold and Vigorous upon Action and Execution, were always less patient of Duty and ill Accommodation than they should be ; and at this time, partly with Weariness, and partly with the Indisposition that possess'd the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were less Vigilant towards the Motion of the Enemy: So that *Essex* was march'd with his whole Army and Train from *Temkesbury* Four and Twenty Hours before the King heard which Way he was gone: For he took the Advantage of a dark Night, and having sure Guides, reach'd *Cirencester* before the break of Day, where he found Two Regiments of the King's Horse quarter'd securely ; all which, by the Negligence of the Officers he surpris'd, to the number of above Three Hundred ; and which was of much greater Value, he found there a great Quantity of Provisions, prepared by the King's Commissaries for the Army before *Gloucester*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was rais'd, and so most sottishly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more apprehensive of Hunger than of the Sword ; and indeed this wonderful Supply strangely exalted their Spirits, as sent by the Special Care and Extraordinary Hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

1643.

Essex
seizes upon
Cirencester.

From hence the Earl having no further Apprehension of the King's Horse, which he had no Mind to encounter in the open Field, and being at the least Twenty Miles before him, by easie Marches, that his sick and wearied Solders might overtake him, moved through that deep and enclosed County of North *Wiltshire*, his direct Way to *London*. As soon as the King had sure Notice which Way the Enemy was gone, he endeavour'd by Expedition and Diligence to recover the Advantage, which the Supine Negligence of those he trusted had robb'd him of ; and Himself with great Industry taking Care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near Five Thousand Horse,

1643.


 Horse march'd Day and Night over the Hills to get between *London* and the Enemy, before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmishes till the whole Army should come up. This Design, pursued and executed with indefatigable Pains, succeeded to his Wish; for when the Van of the Enemy's Army had almost march'd over *Amborne Chase*, intending that Night to have reach'd *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their Fear or Expectation, appear'd with a strong Body of Horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and routed them with good Execution; and though the Parliamentarians perform'd the Parts of good Men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the Relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlook'd for an Occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many Men, they were glad to shorten their Journey, the Night coming on, and took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*. In this Conflict, which was very sharp for an Hour or Two, many fell of the Round-heads, and of the King's Party none of Name but the Marquis of *Vieu Ville*, a *French* Gentleman and a Voluntier in this Action, in the Lord *Jermin's* Regiment. There were many Officers wounded, and among those the Lord *Jermin*, and the Lord *Digby*.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert* the Enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his Numbers, by his exceeding long and quick Marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took, whilst the King lay at *Evesham*, were much lessen'd, being above Two Thousand fewer than when he rais'd his Siege from *Gloucester*. And when the Earl the next Day advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horse would not be able to hinder him from, when he came within Two Miles of the Town he found the King possessed of it, For His Majesty with his whole

whole Army was come thither Two Hours before; this put him to a Necessity of staying upon the Field that Night; it was now thought by many that the King had recover'd whatsoever had been lost by former Oversights, Omissions or Neglects, and that by the destroying the Army which had reliev'd *Gloucester*, he should be fully recompenced for being disappointed of that Purchase. He seem'd to be possess'd of all Advantages to be desired, a good Town to refresh his Men in, whilst the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to Friend, and his Garrison of *Wallingford* at Hand, and *Oxford* it self within Distance, for Supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long Marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them the Day before, had stood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victuals: So that it was conceiv'd that it was in the King's Power whether he would fight or no; and therefore that he might compel them to notable Disadvantages, who must make their Way through or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolv'd over Night not to engage in Battle but upon such Grounds as should give an Assurance of Victory. But contrary to this Resolution, when the Earl of *Essex* had with Excellent Conduct drawn out his Army in Battalia upon a Hill called *Bigg's-Hill*, within less than a Mile of the Town, and order'd his Men in all Places to the Best Advantage, by the precipitate Courage of some young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, strong Parties became successively so far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the Hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy at last an equal Game to Play.

It was disputed on all Parts with great Fierceness and Courage; the Enemy preserving good Order, and standing rather to keep their Ground, than to get more, whereby they did not expose themselves to those Disadvantages, which any Motion would have offer'd to the Assailants. The King's Horse with a kind of Contempt of the

*The Battle
of Newbury.*

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the Enemy Charged with wondrous Boldness upon all Grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the Troops of the other side, that they Routed them in most Places, till they had left the greatest Part of their Foot without any Guard at all of Horse. But then the Foot behaved themselves admirably on the Enemies Part, and gave their scatter'd Horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all Occasions. The *London* Train'd-bands, and Auxiliary Regiments (of whose Inexperience of Danger, or any kind of Service, beyond the easie Practice of their Postures in the Artillery Garden, Men had till then too cheap an Estimation) behaved themselves to a wonder, and were in Truth the Preservation of that Army that Day: For they stood as a Bulwark and Rampire to defend the rest; and when their Wings of Horse were scatter'd and dispersed, kept their Ground so steadily, that though Prince *Rupert* himself led up the Choice Horse to Charge them, and endured their Storm of small Shot, he could make no Impression upon their Stand of Pikes, but was forced to wheel about: It was fought all that Day without any notable Turn, as that either Party could think they had much the better. For though the King's Horse made the Enemies often give Ground, yet the Foot were so immoveable that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the Battle was so sudden, and without Order, that during the whole Day no use was made of the King's Cannon, though that of the Parliament was placed so advantagiously, that it did very great Execution upon the King's Party, both Horse and Foot: The Night parted them, when nothing else could; and each Party had then Time to revolve the Oversights of the Day. The Parliamentarians had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore in the Morning early they put themselves in Order of marching having a necessary Obligation to gain some Place, in which they might eat and sleep. On the King's Side there was not that Caution which should have been the Day before; and though the

Number

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Number of the slain was not so great as in
 so hot a Day might have been look'd for; yet ve-
 ry many Officers and Gentlemen were wounded,
 so that they rather chose to take Advantage of
 the Enemies Motion, than to Charge them again
 upon the old Ground, from whence they had re-
 cover'd a Post, the keeping of which would much
 have prejudiced the Adversary. The Earl of
Essex finding his Way open, pursued his Main De-
 sign of returning to *London*, and took that Way
 by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which
 Prince *Rupert* observing, suffer'd him without In-
 terruption or Disturbance to pass till his whole
 Army was enter'd into the Narrow Lanes; and
 then with a strong Party of Horse, and One
 Thousand Musqueteers, follow'd his Rear with so
 good Effect, that he put them into Disorder, and
 kill'd several and took many Prisoners. How-
 ever the Earl, with the Gross of his Army
 and his Cannon got safe into *Reading*; and af-
 ter a Night or Two spent there to refresh and rest
 his Men, he moved in a slow and orderly manner
 to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces,
 which was presently possess'd by Sir *John Ashley*
 with Three Thousand Foot and Five Hundred
 Horse, and made again a Garrison for the King:
 His Majesty and Prince *Rupert*, with the Re-
 mainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and
 leaving a Garrison under the Command of Co-
 lonel *Coys* in *Dunington-Castle* (a House Famous
 for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*,
 within a Mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great
 Road, through which the Western Trade was dri-
 ven to *London*.

The Earl
 of Essex
 gets into
 Reading;
 thence, to
 London.

The Parliamentarians have given an Account
 of this Battle somewhat after a different man-
 ner, and say that the Royalists, with their whole
 Army having possessed themselves of *Newbury*,
 on their Right had the Advantage of the River,
 and an Hill half a Mile from the Town, where
 they planted their Cannon, so that there was no
 Passage for the Parliament's Army, but by a narrow
 Lane, and with great disadvantage; yet *Essex* find-
 ing his Solders full of Courage, resolv'd to

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Force their Way; he led them on in Person, first charged the Enemy with his own Regiment, and the Lord Roberts Brigade of Horse, and began the Fight about Six in the Morning, Sep. 20, which continued very late till Eleven at Night; during which the Parliaments Forces beat the Enemy from all their Advantage, got the Hill from them, and pursued them to *Newbury*, and out of the Town again: So that in the Night they drew off their Cannon, and marched away, leaving *Effex* master of the Field, who kept it that Night, and part of the Morning.

Effex was receiv'd at *London* with all imaginable Demonstrations of Affection and Reverence; a Publick and Solemn Thanksgiving was appointed for his Victory, for such they made it to be: Without doubt, says my Lord Cl—— the Action was perform'd by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage; in every Part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own Personal Virtue; and it may be well reckon'd among the most Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the Business he undertook, and after the Relief of *Gloucester*, his next Care was to retire with his Army to *London*; which, considering the Length of the Way, and the Difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less Loss than could be expected: On the other Hand, continues the same Author, the King was not without Signs of a Victory. He had followed and compelled the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him when he desired to avoid it. He had the Spoil of the Field, and pursued the Enemy the next Day after the Battle, and had a good Execution upon them, without receiving any Loss; and which seem'd to Crown the Work, fixed a Garrison again at *Reading*, and thereby streighten'd their Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the Year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire Conquest of the West, and his Army much stronger in Horse and Foot than when he first took the Field. On which Side soever the Marks and Publick Ensigns of Victory appear'd most conspicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal Fate that attend'd all Skirmishes and Conflicts with such an Adversary,

versary, the Loss on the King's Side was in Weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure unheard-of Colonel or Officer was missing on the Enemies Side, and some Citizen's Wife bewailed the Loss of her Husband, there were on the other above Twenty Officers of the Field, and Persons of Honour, and publick Name, Slain upon the Place, and more of the same Quality Hurt.

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Here fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender Years (being not above Three and Twenty Years of Age) and an early Judgment; who having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person, under the Obligation of Honour; and putting himself that Day in the King's Troop a Voluntier, before they came to Charge was taken away by a Cannon Bullet.

This Day also fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who after he had Charged and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scatter'd Troopers, was by one of them who knew him run through the Body with a Sword, of which he died within an Hour. He was a Person with whose great Parts and Virtue the World was not enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorn'd by Travel, and an Exact Observation of the Manners of more Nations than our Common Travellers use to visit, (for he had, after the View of *Spain*, *France*, and most Parts of *Italy*, spent some time in *Turky*, and those Eastern Countries) he seem'd to be wholly delighted with those looser Exercises of Pleasure, Hunting, Hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that Time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the first or second Regiment Horse that was raised for the King's Service, he wholly gave himself up to the Office and Duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterously Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the exposing his Person, but an excellent Discerner and Pursuer of Advantage

The Earl of Carnarvon slain and his Character by Cl——

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vantage upon his Enemy. He had a Mind and Understanding very present in the Article of Danger, which is a rare Benefit in that Profession. Those Infirmities, and that Licence which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with Severity, when others thought them excusable under the Notion of a Soldier. He was a great Lover of Justice, and practised it then most deliberately when he had Power to do wrong: And so strict in the Observation of his Word and Promise as a Commander, that he could not be perswaded to stay in the *West* when he found it not in his Power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorchester* and *Weymouth*, as is before mentioned. If he had liv'd he would have proved a great Ornament to that Profession, and an Excellent Soldier, and by his Death the King found a sensible Weakness in his Army.

*The Lord
Falkland
slain, his
Character
by Cl—*

In this unhappy Battle was Slain the Lord Viscount *Falkland*; a Person of such Prodigious Parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that Inimitable Sweetness and Delight in Conversation, of so Flowing and Obliging a Humanity and Goodness to Mankind, and of that Primitive Simplicity and Integrity of Life, that if there were no other Brand upon this Odious and Accursed Civil War than that Single Loss, it must be most Infamous and Execrable to all Posterity.

Before this Parliament his Condition of Life was so happy, that it was hardly capable of Improvement. Before he came to be Twenty Years of Age he was Master of a Noble Fortune, which descended to him by the Gift of a Grandfather, without passing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the Descent. His Education for some Years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; so that when he return'd into *England* to the Possession of his Fortune, he was unintangled with any Acquaintance or Friends, which usually grow up by the Custom of Conversation, and therefore was to make a pure choice of his Company; which he did by other Rules than were prescribed to the

the young Nobility of that Time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his Friendship for the Agreeableness of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his Familiarity and Friendship for the most Part was with Men of the most Eminent and of Sublime Parts, untouched Reputation in Point of Integrity; and such Men had a Title to his Bosom. He was a great Cherisher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a most liberal and Bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune, of which in those Administrations he was such a Dispenser, as if he had been trusted with it to such Uses, and if there had been the least of Vice in his Expence, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolv'd to do, and not to be wearied by any Pains that were necessary to that End. And therefore having once resolv'd not to see *London*, which he loved above all Places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own House in the Country, and pursued it with that indefatigable Industry, that it will not be believ'd in how short a time he was Master it, and accurately read all the Greek Historians. In this time his House being within little more than Ten Miles off *Oxford*, he contracted Familiarity and Friendship with the most Polite and Accurate Men of that University; who found such an Immensity of Wit, and such a Solidity of Judgment in him, so Infinite a Fancy, bound in by a most Logical Ratiocination, such a Vast Knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive Humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College situated in a purer Air; so that his House was a University in a less Volume; whither they came not so much for Repose as Study, and to Examine and Refine those grosser Propositions, which Laziness and Consent made current in Vulgar Conversation.

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Many Attempts were made upon him by the Instigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another Perswasion in Religion and of a most Masculine Understanding, allay'd with the Passion and Infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his adherence to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they prosecuted with the more Confidence, because he declined no Opportunity or Occasion of Conference with those of that Religion, whether Priests, or Laicks; having diligently studied the Controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory so stupendious, that he remember'd, on all Occasions, whatsoever he had read. And he was so great an Enemy to that Passion and Uncharitableness, which he saw produced by Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion, that in all those Disputations with Priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to manifest all possible Civility to their Persons, and Estimation of their Parts: which made them retain still some hope of his Reduction, even when they had given over offering farther Reasons to him to that Purpose. But this Charity towards them was much lessen'd, and any Correspondence with them quite declined, when, by sinister Arts, they had corrupted his Two younger Brothers, being both Children, and stolen them from his House, and transported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Sisters: Upon which Occasion he writ Two large Discourses against the Principal Positions of that Religion, with that Sharpness of Style, and full Weight of Reason, that the Church was depriv'd of great Jewels in the Concealment of them, and that they were not publish'd to the World.

He was superior to all those Passions and Affections which attended Vulgar Minds, and was guilty of no other Ambition than of Knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men; and that made him too much a Contemner of those Arts which must be indulged in the Transactions of Humane Affairs. In the last short Parliament

liament he was a Burgess in the House of Commons; and from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable Gravity and Sobriety, he contracted such a Reverence to Parliaments, that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce Mischief or Inconvenience to the Kingdom; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the Intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unreasonable Dissolution of that Convention, he harbour'd, it may be, some Jealousie and Prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his Father having wasted a full Fortune there in those Offices and Employments by which other Men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same Place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those Exorbitances which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an Observer of establish'd Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the least Breach or Deviation from them; and thought no Mischief so intolerable as the Presumption of Ministers of State to break positive Rules for Reasons of State, or Judges to transgress known Laws upon the Title of Conveniency or Necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural Gentleness and Temper: Inasmuch as (they who did not know his Composition to be as free from Revenge as it was from Pride) thought that the Sharpness to the former might proceed from the Memory of some Unkindnesses, not without a Mixture of Injustice from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from those Temptations, and in both Cases was only misled by the Authority of those who he believ'd understood the Laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the Assumption which was then scarce controverted had been true, 'that an Endeavour to overthrow the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom was Treason, a strict Understanding might make reasonable Conclusions

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to satisfie his own Judgment from the Exorbitant Parts of their several Charges.

The great Opinion he had of the Uprightness and Integrity of those Persons who appear'd most active, especially of Mr. *Hambden*, kept him longer from suspecting any Design against the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differ'd from them commonly in Conclusions, he believ'd long their Purposes were honest. When he grew better inform'd what was Law, and discern'd in them a desire to controul that Law by a Vote of One or Both Houses, no Man more oppos'd those Attempts, and gave the adverse Party more Trouble by Reason and Argumentation; inso-much as he was by degrees looked upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those Addresses, and even those Invitations which he was oblig'd almost by Civility to entertain: And he was so jealous of the least Imagination that he should incline to Preferment, that he affected even a Moroseness to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's Favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him Thanks for his excellent Comportment in those Counsels, which his Majesty was pleas'd to term 'doing him Service, his Answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his Actions should be Just, not that they should be Acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the Impulsion of Conscience, without any Sympathy in his Affections; which from a Stoical and Sullen Nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a habit of Generous and Obsequious Compliance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary Averseness to his Service; so that he took more Pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions ungreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most Men have done

to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his Duty, could have kept him from receiving a Testimony of the King's Grace and Trust at that time, he had not been call'd to his Council: Not that he was in Truth averſe from receiving a Publick Employment, for he had a great Devotion to the King's Perſon, and had before uſed ſome ſmall Endeavour to be recommended to him for a Foreign Negotiation, and had once a Deſire to be ſent Embaſſador into France; but he abhorr'd an Imagination or Doubt ſhould ſink into the Thoughts of any Man, that in the Diſcharge of his Trust and Duty in Parliament he had any Biſs to the Court, or that the King himſelf ſhould apprehend that he looked for a Reward for being Honelt. For this Reaſon, when he heard it firſt whiſper'd, ' that the King had ' a Purpoſe to make him a Privy Counſellor, for which there was in the beginning no other Ground, but becauſe he was known ſufficient (*hanc ſemper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he reſolv'd to decline it, and at laſt ſuffer'd himſelf only to be over-ruled by the Advice and Perſwaſions of his Friends to ſubmit to it. Afterwards when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was poſitive to reſuſe it, declaring to his Friends, ' that he was moſt ' unfit for it, and that he muſt either do that ' which would be great Diſquiet to his own ' Nature, or leave that undone which was moſt ' neceſſary to be done by one that was hon- ' our'd with that Place; for the moſt Juſt and ' honeſt Men did every Day that which he could ' not give himſelf leave to do. And indeed he was ſo exact and ſtrict an Obſerver of Juſtice and Truth, that he believ'd thoſe neceſſary Condeſcenſions and Application to the Weakneſs of other Men, and thoſe Arts and Inſinuations which are neceſſary for Discoveries and Prevention of Ills, would be in him a Declenſion from his own Rules of Life, though he acknowledged them fit and abſolutely neceſſary to be practiſed in thoſe Employments. He was in truth ſo pre- ciſe in the practick Principles he preſcribed

Himſelf

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himself, (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived in *Republica Platonis, non in fece Romuli.*

Two Reasons prevail'd with him to receive the Seals, but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the Consideration that his Refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's Affairs, and that Men would have believ'd that he had refused so great an Honour and Trust, because he might have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made Matter of Conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him before other Men, especially because he thought him more Honest than other Men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of Fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing Sir *Harry Vane*, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those Offices they stood in need of; and the Disdain of so popular an Incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full Appetite of Fame by Just and Generous Actions, so he had an equal Contempt of it by any servile Expedients; and he so much the more contented to, and approved the Justice upon Sir *Harry Vane* in his own private Judgment, by how much he surpassed most Men in the Religious Observation of a Trust; the Violation whereof he would not admit any excuse for.

For these Reasons, he submitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary with as humble and devoted an Acknowledgment of the Greatness of the Obligation as could be expressed, and as true a Sense of it in his Heart. Yet Two Things he could never bring himself to whilst he continued in that Office, that was to his Death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for Omissions in a most necessary Part of his Place. The one, employing of Spies or giving any Countenance or Entertainment to them. My Lord adds, he does not mean such Emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the

the Enemy's Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or Quartering, or any Particulars that such an Observation can comprehend; but those who by Communication of Guilt, or Dissimulation of Manners, wind themselves into such Trusts and Secrets, as enable them to make Discoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a Suspicion that they might contain Matter of Dangerous Consequence. For the first he would say, 'such Instruments must be void of all Ingenuity and common Honesty before they could be of use, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited; and that no single Preservation could be worth so general a Wound and Corruption of Humane Society, as the cherishing such Persons would carry with it. The last he thought 'such a Violation of the Law of Nature, that no Qualification by Office could justify him in the Trespass; and though he was convinced by the Necessity and Iniquity of the Time, that those Advantages of Information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practiced, he found Means to put it off from himself, whilst he confessed he needed Excuse and Pardon for the Omission; so unwilling he was to resign any Part of good Nature to an Obligation in his Office.

In all other Particulars he fill'd his Place with great Sufficiency, being well versed in Languages, to understand any that are used in Business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his Integrity, and his high Disdain of any Bait that might seem to look towards Corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtutum fuerit*, Some sharp Expressions he used against the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first Bill to take away the Votes of Bishops in the House of Peers, gave Occasion to some to believe, and Opportunity to others to conclude, and publish, that he was no Friend to the Church, and the establish'd Government of it; and troubled his very Friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the Allegations. The Truth is, he had unhappily contracted

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tracted some Prejudice to the Archbishop; and having observ'd his Passion, when it may be Multiplicity of Business, or other Indisposition had possess'd him, did wish him less intangled and engaged in the Business of the Court or State; though he had a singular Estimation and Reverence of his great Learning, and confessed Integrity, and really thought his own letting himself loose to those Expressions which implied a Disesteem of the Archbishop, or at least an Acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the Storm he saw rais'd for his Destruction, which he abominated with his Soul.

In pursuance still to the same Author, the giving his Consent to the first Bill for the displacing the Bishops did proceed from Two Grounds: The first, his not understanding then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there; the other, an Opinion that the Combination against the whole Government of the Church by Bishops was so violent and furious, that a less Compulsion than the dispensing with their intermeddling in Secular Affairs would not preserve the Order. And he was perswaded to this by the Profession of many Persons of Honour, who declared, 'they did desire the one, and would not then press the other; which in that Particular misled many Men. But when his Observation and Experience made him discern more of their Intentions than he before suspected, with great Frankness he oppos'd the second Bill that was preferr'd for that Purpose, and had without Scruple the Order itself in perfect Reverence, and thought too great Encouragement could not possibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men. He was never in the least degree sway'd or moved by the Objections which were made against that Government in the Church, (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those Men fancied to themselves.

He had a Courage of the most clear and keen Temper and so far from Fear, that he seem'd not without some Appetite of Danger; and therefore upon any

any Occasion of Action he always engaged his Person in those Troops which he thought by the Forwardness of the Commanders to be most like to be farthest engaged; in all such Encounters he had about him an extraordinary Chearfulness, without at all affecting the Execution that usually attend them, in which he took no Delight, but took Pains to prevent it, where it was not by Resistance made necessary: In so much, that at *Edge-Hill*, when the Enemy was Routed, he was like to have incurr'd great Peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their Arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away; so that a Man might think he came into the Field chiefly out of Curiosity to see the Face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the shedding of Blood. Yet in his Natural Inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the Profession of a Soldier; and shortly after he came to his Fortune; before he was of Age he went into the *Low Countries*, with Resolution of Procuring Command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the compleat Inactivity of that Summer: So he return'd into *England*, and shortly after enter'd upon that vehement Course of Study before mention'd, till the first Alarm from the North: Then again he made ready for the Field, and though he receiv'd some Repulse in the Command of a Troop of Horse, of which he had a Promise, he went a Voluntier with the Earl of *Essex*. From the beginning of this unnatural War, his natural Chearfulness and Vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of Sadness and Dejection of Spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believ'd that one Battle would end all Differences, and that there would be so great a Victory on One Side, that the Other would be compelled to submit to any Conditions from the Victor (which Supposition and Conclusion generally sunk into the Minds of most Men, and prevented the looking after many Advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those Indispositions, & in *luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the

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the King's return from *Brentford*, and the Resolution of the Two Houses not to admit any Treaty for Peace, those Indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect Habit of Uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly Easy and Affable to all Men, that his Face and Countenance was always present, and vacant to his Company, and held any Cloudiness, and less Pleasantness of the Visage, a kind of Rudeness or Incivility, became on a sudden less Communicable, and thence very Sad, Pale, and exceedingly Affected with the Spleen. In his Cloaths and Habit, which he had minded before always with more Neatness, Industry, and Expence, than is usual to so great a Soul, he was not now only Incurious, but too Negligent; and in his Reception of Suitors, and the necessary or casual Addresses to his Place, so Quick, and Sharp, and Severe, that there wanted not some Men (Strangers to his Nature and Dispositions) who believ'd him Proud and Imperious, from which no Mortal Man was ever more free. It is true that as he was of a most incomparable Gentleness Application, and even Submission to good, worthy, and entire Men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to an other Conversation and Intermixture than his own choice would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a Dissembler of his Dislike, and Disinclination to ill Men, that it was not possible for Such not to discern it. There was once in the House of Commons such a declared Acceptation of the good Service an Eminent Member had done to them, and as they said, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, ' That the Speaker might, in the Name of the whole ' House, give him Thanks; and then, that every ' Member might, as a Testimony of his Particular Acknowledgement, stir or move his Hat ' towards him; the which (though not order'd) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believ'd the Service it self not to be of that Moment, and that an Honourable and Generous Person could not have stooped to it for any Recompence)

pence) instead of moving his Hat, stretched both his Arms out, and clasped his Hands together upon the Crown of his Hat, and held it close down to his Head, that all Men might see how odious that Flattery was to him, and the very Approbation of the Person, though at that Time most popular.

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When there was any Overture or Hope of Peace, he would be more Erect and Vigorous, and exceedingly Sollicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his Friends, often, after a deep Silence, and frequent Sighs, would with a shrill and sad Accent ingeminate the Word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, 'that the very Agony of the War, and the View of the Calamities and Desolation the Kingdom did, and must endure, took his Sleep from him, and would shortly break his Heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, 'that he was so much enamoured on Peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any Price; which was a most unreasonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every Circumstance that might reflect upon Conscience or Honour, could have wish'd the King to have committed a Tresspass against either. And yet this senseless Scandal made some Impression upon him, or at least he used it for an Excuse of the Daringness of his Spirit; for at the Camp before *Gloucester*, when his Friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his Person unnecessarily to Danger, (for he delighted to visit the Trenches, and nearest Approaches, and to discover what the Enemy did) as being so much beside the Duty of his Place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, 'that his Office could not take away the Privilege of his Age; and that a Secretary in War might be present at the greatest Secret of Danger; but withal alledg'd seriously, 'that it concern'd him to be more active in Enterprizes of Hazard than other Men, that all might see that his Impatience for Peace proceeded not from
Puffil-

1643. Puffillanimity, or Fear to adventure his own Person.

In the Morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very chearful, and put himself into the first Rank of the Lord *Byron's* Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both Sides with Musqueteers, from thence he was shot with a Musquet in the lower Part of the Belly, and in the instant falling from his Horse, his Body was not found till the next Morning; till when there was some Hope he might have been a Prisoner; though his nearest Friends, who knew his Temper, receiv'd small Comfort from that Imagination. Thus fell that Incomparable Young Man, in the Four and Thirtieth Year of his Age, having so much dispatch'd the true Business of Life, that the Eldest rarely attain to that Immense Knowledge, and the Youngest enter not into the World with more Innocency: Whosoever leads such a Life needs be the less Anxious upon how short Warning it is taken from him.

Whitlock tells us of this Great Man that in the Morning before the Fight, he call'd for a clean Shirt, and being asked the Reason of it, answer'd, That if he were slain in the Battle, they should not find his Body in foul Linnen; and that being desired by his Friends not to go into the Fight, as having no Call to it, being no Military Officer, he said he was weary of the Times, and foresaw much Misery to his Country, and did believe he should be out of it before Night. He adds, that his Death was much lamented by all that knew or heard of him, he being a Gentleman of great Parts, Ingenuity and Honour, Courteous and Just to all, and a Passionate Promoter of all Endeavours of Peace between the King and Parliament; and then he subjoins, that from the Time that *Essex* removed from *Clinton* near *Hungerford*, to the End of this *Newbury* Fight, the King lost above 2000 Men, besides the Three Lords and Officers of Note, and that on the Parliament Side were slain about 500.

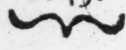
We have already mentioned the Earl of *Essex's* return to *London*; which he entered on the 25 of *September* and was next Day visited at *Essex House* by the Speaker and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, ' that they came to Congratulate his Notable Success, and to render the Thanks of the Kingdom to him for his Incomparable Conduct and Courage; and that they had caused their Acknowledgment to be enter'd in their Journal Book as a Monument and Record of His Virtue, and their Gratitude. A Day or Two after Solemn Thanks were render'd to those Members of Both Houses who had Command in the Army, and some Extraordinary signification of Respect deriv'd to the Superior Officers throughout the Army. The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen waited on him in their Formalities, and highly Complimented him as the Protector and Defender of their Lives and Fortune, and of their Wives and Children; a Letter of Kindness and Value was sent to Colonel *Massy*, and which made the Letter of more Value, a Thousand Pounds was sent him as a Gratuity or Present for his Service, over and above what was due to him for his Pay, and some Large's to all the Inferior Officers, and a Months Pay over and above their Arrears to the Soldiers of that Garrison. And lest the Discourse and Apprehension of some Jealousie between the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *William Waller* might administer Hope or Suspicion, that some Division might grow amongst themselves, and from thence that the King might receive any Advantage, great Care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a Reconciliation between them, in which Sir *William* was all Submission and Humility, and his Excellency full of Grace and Courtesie. The Passion and Animosity which Difference of Opinion had produced between Members were totally laid aside and forgotten, and no Artifice omitted to make the World believe that they were newly incorporated, and firmly united to one and the same end.

On the other Hand, though the King for his Part had some Trophies of Victory in, and after the

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 Battle, yet upon his return to *Oxford* there appear'd nothing but Dejection of Mind, Discontent, and Secret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealousie among the Officers, every one accusing another of Want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions in the Field; and they who were not of the Army blaming them all for their several Failings and gross Oversights. The Siege of *Gloucester* was not believ'd to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The engaging the Earl of *Essex* in the march over so open a Country was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the Want of Courage in *Wilmot*, whom Prince *Rupert* did in no Degree favour; nor was the Prince himself without some Reproaches for suffering the Earl of *Essex*, after all the Horse was join'd, to march down a long steep Hill into the Vale of *Gloucester* without any Disturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found necessary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at some Distance from the Town, when the King's Men were fresh, and the other Side tired with so long a March. But then all Men renew'd their Execrations against those who advised the sitting down before *Gloucester*; the Officers, who had been present, and consented to all the Councils, disclaiming as much as any the whole Design; and all conspired to lay the whole Reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those Debates, and was not at all Gracious to the Soldiers; and this Clamour against that Engagement was so popular and universal, that no Man took upon himself to speak in Defence of it.

The Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army; and the King was much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his Condition required. But there was no particular that gave him more Inquietude than the Pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The Three Earls before mention'd had attended the King before he rose from *Gloucester*, and had waited upon him throughout that March, and had Charged the Enemy in the King's Regiment of Horse at the Battel of *Newbury*

very

very bravely, and had behav'd themselves through-
out very well, and return'd to *Oxford* with his
Majesty, and now expected to be well look'd upon;
the other Two had no Cause to complain;
the King upon all Occasions spoke very graciously
to them, and particularly sent the Chancellor of
the Exchequer to the Earl of *Clare*, 'that he had
' Liberty, and might be present at the Councils
' of War; where the Peers usually were, and the
general Matters of Contribution, and such Things
as concern'd the Country, were usually debated.
But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleas'd; he thought
nothing of former Miscarriages ought to be re-
member'd, that all those were cancell'd by the Me-
rit of coming to the King now, and bringing such
Considerable Persons with him, and disposing others
to follow; and expected, upon his first Appear-
ance, to have had his Key restor'd to him; to
have been in the same Condition he was in the
Bed-chamber, and in the Council, and the King's
Grace and Countenance: Of all which he had As-
surance from the Queen before he came, at least
from Mr. *Fermyn*, who no doubt did exceed
his Commission; and the very deferring of this was
grievous to him; and the more, because he found the
same Disrespect from all others, as he had done
when he came first to *Oxford*. The King and
Queen both indeed frequently spoke with him, The
King was always upon his guard towards him,
and did not in Truth abate any thing of his
former Rigour or Prejudice, and continued firm to his
former Resolutions. But the Queen, whether from
her Inclination, or Promise, or Dislike of most o-
ther People, who were not so good Courtiers,
did in Truth heartily desire that he might receive
Satisfaction in all Things according to his own
Desire, and would have trusted him her self as
much as formerly. Yet she complied so far with
the King's Aversion, that she yet forbore to press
it, or to own the Encouragement she had given
him; nor had she a Willingness to oppose so
great a Torrent of Prejudice as she saw evidently
run against him; so that she appear'd not to
wish what without doubt she would have been

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very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the Performance of the King's Promise to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole; of which the King took not the least Notice to him since his Return; which made it the more suspected that the Intention was to readmit the Old Officer *Holland*; who did not act his own Part with that Art and Dexterity which might have been expected from his Cunning and Experience; nor had ever made the least Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appear'd to have the least Sense that he had committed any Error, as his Majesty himself declared to those who he knew were his Friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same Confidence and Assurance as he had done when he was most in his Favour, and that he retain'd still the Old Artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's Ear, by which People thought there were some Secret, when the Matter of those Whispers was nothing but what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of *Holland* had several Times seem'd to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the Company to the end or corner of the Room, and at first expected and apprehended that he would say somewhat in his own Excuse; but that he had never then said one Word, but what he might have spoke in the Circle; with which the King said, "he was the better pleased; and that he believ'd he had not been more particular in his Discourse with the Queen, save that he used to entertain her with the Wisdom and Power of the Parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in Foreign Parts; which his Majesty said was a strange Discourse for a Man to make, who had so lately left them, because he thought the King's Condition to be the better of the Two.

The Earl had a Friend who did heartily desire to do him all the Offices and Services that would consist

confist with the King's Honour, and always apprehended the Ill Consequence of discouraging such Conversions, and who spake often to the Earl of his own Affairs. And when he complain'd of his Usage, and repeated what Promises and Encouragement he had receiv'd to come to the King, and of what Importance his good Reception would have been, that there were many of considerable Reputation and Interest in the House of Commons, (whom he named) who intended to have follow'd; and that the Earl of *Noribum-berland* expected only his Advice; his Friend asked him, whether he had done all Things, since he came to the King, which might reasonably be expected from him? He said, he thought he had done all that could be expected from him, in bringing himself to the King; and, since his coming to him, in venturing his Life for him; and in Lieu thereof he had not receiv'd Thanks, or one Gracious Word; and now, after his Office had been kept unbestow'd near Two Years, and a Promise made to him that he should be restored to it, it was to be bestow'd upon another, to make his Disgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not prove for his Majesty's Honour or Advantage.

His Friend asked him whether he had asked it of the King, or inform'd him of the Promise that was made to him? He said he had done neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the King's Grace, and would not extort it by a Promise, which it might be his Majesty was not privy to. The other replied very plainly to him, that if he thought he had never committed any Fault against the King, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he were conscious of any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some Confession and Apology to his Majesty; nor could his Majesty with the safety of his Honour, avow the receiving him into any Trust without it; nor was he capable of receiving any Offices from his Friends, or the Queen's own declared Interposition on his Be-

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“ half, till he had perform’d that necessary Introduction. He told him, ‘if he would follow his Advice he believ’d he might receive some Effect of it, which was, ‘that he should send to desire a private Audience of his Majesty in some Room where no Body might be present, which would not be refus’d him, and then he should (with all the Excuses upon the Terror the Parliament gave to all Men, who had exceeded the common Rules in their Administration of the Trust they had from His Majesty, as he could not deny he had done in many Particulars for the Advancement of his Majesty’s Service) confess that he had not been hardy enough to contemn that Power, but had been so much in Awe of it, that he chose rather to presume upon his Majesty’s Goodness, than to provoke their Jealousie and Displeasure; and so had complied with them more than in his Duty and Gratitude to His Majesty he ought to have done, for which he begged his Pardon upon his Knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt he should wipe out the Memory of past Offences by some new Services, which should be beneficial to his Majesty; and he added, ‘that he would do very well if he would Sue out his Pardon as the Earl of Bedford had done, who had asked it of the King when he first kissed his Hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the Great Seal of England.

Holland seem’d not pleas’d with this Advice; and said, he did not think, though he would not justify all that he had done, his Transgressions were of that Magnitude that they required such a Formality of asking Pardon; that his Case was very different from that of the Earl of Bedford, who had been in Arms, and a General Officer in the Field against the King; whereas he had only sat in the Parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had fail’d in his Attendance upon his Majesty, and otherwise deserv’d his Displeasure, he had receiv’d so many Marks of it before he deserv’d it, that might well transport a very Faithful Servant into a Discontent. That as soon as he found himself restored to any Proportion of his

“ Ma.

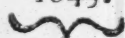
‘ Majesty’s Grace and Confidence, his own Inclination would carry him to as humble Apologies, as deep Acknowledgements of all his Transgressions, as could be expected from him, such as he believ’d would reconcile the King’s Goodness to him; but to make the first Advance by such a kind Submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it. However, he took his Advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same Subject.

But the King having at last thought fit to confer the Office of Groom of the Stole upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, according to his promise, the Earl thereupon withdrew himself for Convenience to a Neighbour Village, where he had a private Lodging; and after few Days with the help of a dark Night and a Guide, got himself into the Parliaments Quarters, and laid himself at the Feet of the Parliament; which, after a short Imprisonment gave him leave to live in his own House, without farther considering him, than as a Man able to do little Good or Harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by a Declaration in Print of the Cause of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which he endeavour’d to make it appear, that his Compassion and Love to his Country had only prevail’d with him to go to the King, in Hope to have been able, upon the long Knowledge His Majesty had of his Fidelity, to perswade him to make a Peace with his Parliament, which from the time of his coming thither he had labour’d to do; but that he found the Court so indisposed to Peace, and that the Papists had so great a Power there, that he resolv’d to make what haste he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the remainder of his Life in their Service;

But how unconstant or regular soever the Carriage of the Earl might be, this did not absolve the Court from a Fault in treating him no better, and indeed it was a great Error, and made the King, and all those about him, look’d upon as implacable, and so diverted all Men from farther Thoughts of returning to him by such Application, and made those who abhorr’d the War, and the violent Counsels in

Holland
returns in-
to the Par-
liament’s
Quarters.

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the carrying it on, chuse rather to acquiesce, and expect a Conjunction when a general Peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome Addresses. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth* with a Purpose of going to the King, if by the Lord *Conway's* Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland's* Reception, he found Encouragement, return'd to the Parliament, where he was receiv'd with great Respect, all Men concluding that he had never intended to do what he had not done. And the other Members, who had entertain'd the same Resolutions, changed their Minds with him, and return'd to their former Station; and the Two Earls, who yet remain'd at *Oxford*, shortly after found Means to make their Peace at *Westminster*, and return'd again to their own Habitations in *London*, without farther Mark of Displeasure, than a Restraint for a time from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their Councils.

The Transactions of the Committee of the Two Houses in Scotland.

Let us now visit the Committee from the Two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into *Scotland* in *July* last, in the Distraction of their Affairs, when *Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army unserviceable; they found that Kingdom in so good and ready a Posture for their Reception that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in their hands, who were to be Confided in; and they ruled and disposed by a few who were thoroughly engaged in the Counsels and Discomposures in *England*: For indeed most of those who were visibly affected to the King's Service, or disaffected eminently to the Persons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom; and they who staid behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same Affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and Good-Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a Common Evidence, so that the Committee found as good a Welcome as they could wish, and a Committee was, both out of the Convention of
 Estates

Estates, and the Assembly appointed to Treat with
 ' them, and to make such Conclusions as might be
 ' thought necessary to advance the Peace and Hap-
 ' piness of Both Kingdoms. These complied with
 them in their full Sense of the sad Condition of
 the Affairs of *England*, and in their own Concern-
 ment in the Misfortunes which should befall them:
 They said, ' they well understood how much the
 ' Fate of *Scotland* was involv'd in what should be-
 ' fall the Parliament of *England*; and that if the
 ' King prevail'd by Force, and by the Power of
 ' his Army oppress'd those who had express'd a
 ' Tenderness formerly towards them, they had
 ' Reason to expect the same Army should be ap-
 ' plied to the Revenge of those Indignities they
 ' would easily perswade His Majesty he had suf-
 ' fer'd from that his Native Kingdom; and there-
 ' fore there needed no Arguments to perswade
 them to commiserate the Estate of their Brethren
 of *England*, or to convince them that their Case
 was their own, and their mutual Safety bound
 up together; but that those Politick Arguments
 and Considerations would have no Influence up-
 on the People, who had such a natural Affection
 and Loyalty to their Sovereign, as no Earthly
 Consideration would be able to lessen their Obedi-
 ence towards His Majesty; and that albeit there
 was no visible Party and Faction that appear'd in
 the Kingdom for the King, yet that there were
 many Well-wishers to him, and Maligners in
 their Hearts of the present Reformation; who,
 as soon as there should be any Preparation for an
 Army to march into *England*, would be ready,
 upon the specious Arguments of Duty to his
 Majesty, and of Peace to their Country, and
 might be able to give great Disturbance to the Ex-
 pedition, or to disquiet the Realm, when the most
 eminently affected were march'd towards the re-
 lief of their distressed Neighbours, except some
 Obligation of Conscience were laid upon the Peo-
 ple, who only preferr'd what they called their
 Piety to God before their Inclination to their
 Prince, and the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus
 Christ, before the Vindication of a Temporal Ju-
 risdiction

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A Cove-
nant propo-
sed by the
Scots be-
tween the
Two King-
doms, and
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jurisdiction. For such an Expedient therefore they proposed, that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the Two Kingdoms, for the utter Extirpation of Prelacy, which that Kingdom was satisfied to be a great Obstruction to the Reformation of Religion; and the Two Houses of Parliament had discover'd a sufficient Aversion from that Government, by having passed a Bill for their utter Abolition, and in the Place thereof to erect such a Government as should be most agreeable to God's Word, which they doubted not would be their own Presbytery; and that the People being cemented together by such an Obligation, would never be sever'd and disjoin'd by any Temptation.

There was an easie Consent from the Committee of the *English* to any Expedient that might thoroughly engage the other Nation; and so a Form of Words were quickly agreed on between them for a perfect Combination between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all such Particulars as were most like to be unacceptable to the King; and this Form being presently Communicated to the Convention of Estates, the Assembly as soon found an Approbation and Concurrence there with as much Solemnity as was necessary to shew their Temper and Resolution, and to gain the Consent of the Two Houses at *Westminster*, whither it was sent with all imaginable Celerity, and a Signification that that People were in such a forwardness to advance, that they would be in *England* as soon as they could be reasonably expected.

Many were of Opinion that this Engagement was proposed rather to decline being engaged in the Quarrel, than out of Hope or Imagination that the Two Houses would concur with them; for though there had been a Bill passed before the last Treaty with the King to that Purpose, yet they well knew that most of the Peers, and Persons of Quality and Interest in the other House, were willing to depart from that Overture. Besides, among those who were averse to Episcopacy, there were so many Opinions, that it would be no less difficult to establish Presbytery than

to root out the other Government, to which they intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them; so that upon this Proposition, which was according to the known Temper of that Nation they should preserve themselves plausibly, and without seeming to desert their Confederates, from bearing any Part in the Present Troubles. However, it would visibly take up so much time, that if there were no Ebb in the King's Prosperity and Success, he might well finish his Work, and this Interposition be interpreted for a Politick Stratagem to amuse the *English*. The Assembly of Divines, as well as the Lords and Commons at *Westminster*, at once Judging it convenient and lawful, met together at Church with great Solemnity to take it on the Five and Twentieth of *September*; where Two or Three Divines went up into the Pulpit successively to Pray, others, according to their several Qualifications made Orations upon the Work of the Day; particularly Mr. Nye shewed the Warrant of it from Scripture, the Example of it since the Creation, and the Benefit of it to the Church; then he read the Covenant; others of them said 'that this Oath was such, and in the Matter and Consequence of it of such Concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, *Yea* of those Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could be no other but the Result and Answer of such Prayers and Tears, of such Sincerity and Sufferings, that Three Kingdoms should be thus Born, or rather New-born in a Day: That they were entering upon a Work of the greatest Moment and Concernment to themselves, and to their Posterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of Them, or any of their Forefathers before them. That it was a Duty of the first Commandment, and therefore of highest and noblest Order and Rank of Duties; therefore must come forth attended with choicest Graces, Fear, Humility, and in the greatest Simplicity and Plainness of Spirit, and Respect of those with whom they Covenanted. That it was to advance the Kingdom of Christ here upon

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on Earth, and made *Jerusalem* once more the Praise of the whole Earth, notwithstanding all the Contradictions of Men; the Covenant it self ran in these Terms.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.

*A Copy of
the Cove-
nant.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeffes, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdom of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, by the Providence of God, living under One King, and being of One Reform'd Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, the Honour and Happiness of the King's Majesty, and his Posterity, and the True Publick Liberty, Safety and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's Private Condition is included; and calling to mind the Treacherous and Bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God against the True Religion, and Professors thereof in all Places, especially in these Three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power and Presumption are of late, and at this time encreased and exercised, (whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland*, are present and publick Testimonies) we have now at last (after other Means of Supplications, Remonstrance, Protestations and Sufferings) for the Preservation of our Selves and our Religion from utter Ruin and Destruction, according to the Commendable Practice of these Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of God's People in others Nations, after Mature Deliberation, resolv'd and determin'd to enter into a Mutual and Solemn League and

and Covenant, wherein we all Subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most High God, do Swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our several Places and Callings, the Preservation of the Reform'd Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, against our Common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reform'd Churches; and we will endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the Three Kingdoms to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship, and Catechising; that we, and our Posterity after Us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godliness, lest we partake in other Mens Sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their Plagues; and that the Lord may be One, and his Name One, in the Three Kingdoms.

3. We shall, with the same Sincerity, Reality, and Constancy, in our several Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve, and defend the King's Majesty's Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms;

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doms; thar the World may bear Witness, with our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majesty's Just Power and greatness.

4. 'We shall also, with all Faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, or the Supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having Power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. 'And whereas the Happines of a Blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our Places and Interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoin'd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers ther-of, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

6. 'We shall also, according to our Places and Calling, in this Common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer our selves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion or Terror to be divided, and withdrawn from this Blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give our selves to a detestable Indifference or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; but shall, all the

Days

“ Days of our Lives, zealously and constantly
“ continue therein, against all Opposition, and
“ promote the same according to our Power
“ against all Lets and Impediments whatso-
“ ever. And what we are not able our selves to
“ suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make
“ known, that it may be timely prevented or re-
“ mov’d; all which we shall do as in the Sight of
“ God.

“ And because these Kingdoms are guilty of ma-
“ ny Sins and Provocations against God, and his
“ Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our pre-
“ sent Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof,
“ we profess and declare before God and the World
“ our Unfeigned Desire to be humbled for our own
“ Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; especially,
“ that we have not, as we ought, valued the Inestimable
“ Benefit of the Gospel, that we have not labour’d
“ for the Purity and Power thereof, and that we have
“ not endeavour’d to receive Christ in our Hearts,
“ nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which
“ are the Causes of other Sins and Transgressions
“ so much abounding amongst us: And our true
“ and unfeigned Purpose, and Endeavour for our
“ selves, and all others under our Power and
“ Charge, both in Publick and in Private in all
“ Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our
“ Lives, and each one to go before another in the
“ Example of a real Reformation; that the Lord
“ may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indigna-
“ tion, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms
“ in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we
“ make in the Presence of Almighty God, the
“ Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to
“ perform the same, as we shall Answer at
“ that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts
“ shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the
“ Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this
“ End, and to bless our Desires and Proceedings
“ with such Success, as may be a Deliverance and
“ Safety to his People, and Encouragement to o-
“ ther Christian Churches, groaning under, or in
“ Danger of the Yoke of Anti-christian Tyranny,
“ to join in the same or like Association and Co-
“ venant, .

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‘venant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement
 ‘of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Tran-
 ‘quility of Christian Kingdoms and Common-
 ‘wealths.

*The Cove-
 nant to be
 taken by o-
 thers.*

As soon as this Solemnity was over, which was
 concluded by Mr. *Henderson*, (the Sole Ecclesiastical
 Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*)
 who magnified what they had done, and assured
 ‘them ‘of great Success after it, by the Experience
 ‘of that Nation, who from their Union in their
 ‘Covenant found nothing hard they proposed to
 ‘themselves; and told them, according to Cl——,
 ‘that were that Covenant now painted upon the
 ‘Wall within the Pope’s Palace, it would doubt-
 ‘less put him into *Belshazzar’s* quaking Condition;
 the Speaker and Commons (having first set their
 ‘Hands to their Covenant after they had taken
 ‘it) return’d to their House, and observing, that
 many of their Members were that Day absent,
 they order’d, ‘that as soon as they came into the
 ‘House the Covenant should be tender’d to them, and
 ‘whosoever refused to take it, should be proceeded
 ‘against as a disaffected Person in such a manner
 ‘as the House should think fit. They farther made
 ‘a special Order, ‘that all the Ministers of Parish
 ‘Churches within *London* and *Westminster*, the
 ‘Suburbs, and the whole Line of Communication,
 ‘should Read and Explain the Covenant to their
 ‘several Congregations, and stir them up the next
 ‘Fast-Day to the chearful taking of it; and parti-
 ‘cular Care was taken all the Students of the Inns
 ‘of Court should be perswaded to receive it. But
 over and above these general Directions there
 was a particular Ceremony and Application to re-
 commend this Covenant to the City, and Corpo-
 ration of *London*, and another Use to be made of it.
 The Covenant was not only to bring, but to keep
 Men together; and the taking it had only inclin-
 ed the *Scots* to march to their Assistance; they
 were to have One Hundred Thousand Pounds Ad-
 vanced to them, and paid at *Edenborough*, before they
 could stir; and how to advance this great Sum
 was not easie to resolve. Wherefore a Committee
 of Lords and Commons, with some Divines of
 the

the Assembly, was sent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had call'd a Common-Council for their Reception, to recommend to them 'the wonderful Advantage and Strength their Party should gain by taking them United in this Covenant, and the desperate Condition they were like to be in without it: If the *Scots* came not to their Assistance, which without this Obligation they could not do, they were in Danger to be overwhelm'd by the Enemy, or at least to make a Disadvantageous and Dishonourable Peace with them; which yet they could not tell how it would be observ'd and kept. On the other Hand, by this Famous Accession of Strength of a whole Nation they should undoubtedly be able to master the War, and to make those who had been the Causes of it defray the Charge; and all the Publick Debts discharged out of the Estates of Delinquents, the Kingdom would not be at all impoverish'd, and the Peace which should hereafter be made with the King would be sure to be Inviolably observ'd by the Strength of this Union, and therefore that it could not be purchas'd at too dear a Rate. It was, they said, neither Covetousness, nor want of Affection and Zeal to their Relief, that the *Scots*, who took their Case to Heart as their own, desired an Advance of Money before they drew their Army into *England*; but the pure Necessity, and Poverty of that Kingdom, already exhausted by their late Expeditions, and keeping their Soldiers together for the Good of this. And if there had been Money enough in that Country to have been procur'd upon the Publick Stock and Revenue, or the Mortgage of Private Estates, to which all Men were forward for the Publick Good, their Love to their Brethren here was such, that they would neither have asked nor receiv'd Money for their Assistance, till after it had proved effectual, much less before the yielding it. For Evidence of which Frank and Brotherly Inclination they freely offer'd the Engagement of their own Estates, for the Repayment of the Money that should be advanced: In the

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end they very much extolled the Covenant magnified the *Scottish* Nation with all imaginable Attributes of Esteem and Reverence, 'a Nation that had engaged it self to God in a higher Way, in a more extraordinary Way, than any Nation this Day upon the Face of the Earth had done, a Nation that had reform'd their Lives for so small a Time more than ever any People that they knew of in the World had done; a Nation that God had honour'd by giving as Glorious Success unto as ever he did unto any; and very earnestly desired the Loan of a Hundred Thousand Pound. The Rhetorick prevailed, the Money was provided, and sent to *Edenborough*; and the Assurance of the *Scots* coming so full, that they were look'd upon as Masters of *Newcastle* already. With such an Alacrity all these Things were transacted.

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progress of the Distractions, than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary Expedition pass the Two Houses, when all or most of the leading Persons in those Councils were at the same Time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Establishment whereof was the main End of this Covenant) as they were to Episcopacy. And he who contributed most to it, and in Truth was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely and stupidly govern'd, Sir *Harry Vane* the younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laugh'd at 'em then as much as ever he did afterwards.

Dr. *Gumble* in *Monk's* Life relates this Matter somewhat differently, and says, that when young Sir *Harry Vane* saw that the Parliament could submit to the *Scottish* Covenant and Discipline, he stilly opposed it singly, and at last carried it, that the Nations should join in a Solemn League, and the *Scotch* would have the Church Government to be according to the Example of the best Reformed Churches; but *Vane* insisted to have it according to the Word of God only, and carried both Points; but afterwards

terwards one of his Intimates expostulating with him, why he should put them to so much Trouble about such needless Trifles, he answer'd, he was mistaken, and did not see far enough into the Matter; for a League shewed it was between Two Nations, and might be broken upon Just Causes, but not a Covenant; and that Church Government, according to the Word of God, by the difference of Divines and Expositors would be long enough before it was determined, for the Learnedest held it clearly for Episcopacy, so that when all agreed we might take in the *Scotch* Presbytery.

However this were, my Lord Cl—— Characterizes Sir Harry upon the Occasion of the Covenant after this Manner, that he was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleasant Wit, a great Understanding, by which he pierced into and discern'd the Purposes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no Man could make a guess of what he intended. That he was of a Temper not to be moved, and of Rare Dissimulation, could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing Ground by the Condescension; and that if he were not superior to Mr. *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man in all Mysterious Artifices. That there need no more be said of his Ability, than that he was chosen to Couzen and Deceive a whole Nation, which was thought to excel in Craft and Cunning; which he did with notable Pregnancy and Dexterity, and prevailed with a People that could not otherwise be prevailed upon, than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their Peace, their Interest, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that resolv'd to persecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and in Process of time very near brought their Purpose to pass.

The Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be Spectators of what was done in *England*, without engaging themselves in the Quarrel: However, the

Sir Harry
Vane's
Character
by Cl——.

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Commissioners of the *English* Parliament had not been long at *Edenborough* before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament, who had above a Year to come together without the King's Consent; this Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who pretended great Devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised to oppose and said they were powerful enough to prevent it. When it came to the Point, Duke *Hamilton* being one way or other perswaded himself, perswaded others, that the absolute Refusal to suffer a Parliament to be called would not quiet the Debate, nor secure the King, but more inflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it, and so would carry it; and that therefore they were better be absent, at first, whereby the others might, without Opposition, send out their Summons for a Parliament to Assemble at the Day they thought fit; and that as they who would serve the King would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could not be there likewise, whereby the Number which appear'd would be so considerable, that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and that Disappointment would for ever quash this Design, and render those who advised it odious to the People; as Men who desired illegally to engage the Nation in unjustifiable Ways, to disturb the Publick Peace.

A Parliament Sum-
mon'd by
the Cove-
nanters in
Scotland.

A Summons was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a Day appointed; before which time those of the Nobility and Gentry who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke *Hamilton* (whose Advice and Orders the King himself had required them to observe, still believing him to be Faithful) to know what they should do; many of the Principal of them declaring their Opinions to him, That they should take an Opportunity to meet together, and bring their Friends with them, whereby they might make a good Body of Horse, and so with their Arms in their Hands they would declare against the

‘ the Legality of that Parliament, and the Meeting in
 ‘ it: And named a fit Opportunity to him for
 such a Meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which
 was to be within some Days, when according to the
 Custom of that People great Numbers of Per-
 sons of Quality use to Assemble, to do Honour to
 the Dead in the last Obsequies. He told them
 ‘ he believ’d it must come shortly to that Re-
 ‘ medy, but conceiv’d it not yet time, and that
 ‘ such a Meeting would frighten the People, and
 ‘ increase the Number in Parliament, and many
 ‘ resort to them for their Directions. He like-
 ‘ wise said he had changed his former Opi-
 ‘ nion concerning their own Being absent at that
 ‘ Time of the Meeting of the Parliament, since their
 ‘ meer Absence would not be Discountenance
 ‘ enough; and that they who sat would carry the
 ‘ Reputation of a Parliament, and the People
 ‘ would be guided by them, if there were nothing
 ‘ but their Absence to Work upon their Inclina-
 ‘ tions and Affections.

He propos’d therefore to them, ‘ that they would
 ‘ all resolve to be present, and take their Places;
 ‘ and that when the House should be sat, and
 ‘ any Man should stand up to propose the ta-
 ‘ king any Business into Consideration, he would
 ‘ first make his Protestation against proceeding in
 ‘ so illegal a Convention, and then they should
 ‘ all make the same Protestation; and he did
 ‘ hope that the Number of the Protesters would
 ‘ be great enough to Dissolve the Meeting; and
 ‘ thus they should put the best End to the
 ‘ Matter that could be desired; but if it should
 ‘ succeed otherwise, then would be the Time to
 ‘ withdraw and put themselves in Arms; to-
 ‘ wards which he would make the best Prepa-
 ‘ ration he could, and desired them to do the
 ‘ like. The Earl of *Kinoul*, and some others,
 made Exception against this Expedient, and pres-
 sed the former Meeting at the Funeral, till the
 Duke told them, that the King liked the other Way
 ‘ better; pull’d a Letter out of his Pocket, which
 he had receiv’d from His Majesty, and read them
 so much of it as contain’d his Approbation,

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that they should meet in the Parliament; in which Determination they could not but acquiesce; though they thought at the same time that his Majesty was betrayed.

The Parliament met at the Day, and Duke Hamilton, according to his Promise, took an Opportunity to say somewhat that seem'd to imply Protestation against the Meeting: upon which many of the Lords, who had been always most engaged against the King, were very warm, and demanded, that he should declare himself clearly whether he did Protest against the Parliament, whereupon his Brother, the Earl of Lunrick, who was Secretary of State to the King, stood up, and said, that he hoped that Noble Lord's Affection to his Country was better known, than that any Man could imagine he would Protest against the Parliament of the Kingdom; and then the Duke explain'd and excus'd himself, and said, he meant no such thing; and so they declared, That they would Treat with the Commissioners, who were sent from the Parliament of *England*; and appointed Commissioners for that purpose. Some were of Opinion that they did not intend to engage in the War against the King, but that as a few Men couzen'd the Parliament at *Westminster*, by perswading them, That they desired only a safe Peace, till by Multiplication of Indignities they made it impossible to make a Peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a Number in *Scotland*, that over-reach'd the Parliament there, by perswading, that they never intended to do any Thing against the King, but that it would be too ingrateful a Thing, and render them very odious to the whole *English* Nation, if after they had receiv'd so many Obligations from the Parliament there, to whose Protection they owed their Religion, and all that they enjoined, they should refuse so much as to Treat with them, and to Assist them, by their Interposition, to procure a good Peace for them with the King; which would be a great Honour to them, and would be as great an Obligation to His Majesty as to the Parliament. That this was their Thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War,

War, not by rejecting the Propositions, but by making such Demands as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Westminster*. Thereupon they told the Commissioners from that Parliament, "that it would be impossible to engage their Nation in a joint Concurrence with them against the King, but by the Influence and Authority of their Kirk; and that it would be as impossible to procure the Consent of their Kirk, except making it evident to them that the Government of the Church in *England* should be reduced to the same Model with theirs in *Scotland*; and that Episcopacy should be totally extirpated; and that Deans and Chapters should be utterly abolish'd; without which they said, they could never think their own Government securely establish'd; but if such a Promise might be solemnly made, their Kirk would be thoroughly engaged, and the Nation, to a Man, would enter into the Quarrel.

Sir *Harry Vane* was not surprized with the Proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolv'd to pay their own Price for their Friendship. Thereupon the Covenant was prepared as before said, and other Propositions made for the present furnishing a great Sum of Money to enable them to begin their Levies; and many other extravagant Conditions proposed on the *Scots* Part for the Payment of the Army, and other vast Expences, that they did not believe the Commissioners would yield, or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money or Honour made any Delay; and they came provided with some Letters of Credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible in making all necessary Preparations.

The *English* Commissioners having concluded the whole Treaty, the Parliament at *Edenborough* resolv'd to raise a great Army, and to invade *The Scots* *England*; and their Old General *Lesley*, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only never to *Army* *under* *Lesley* bear Arms against him, but to serve him, let the Cause be what it would, without any Hesitation undertook the Command of it. All this time Duke *Hamilton* look'd on, and sometimes

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fate with them; and when the first Proclamation was prepared in the King's Name for a general Rendezvous of all Men, from such an Age to such an Age, at such a Time and Place, that so their Army might be presently form'd, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said Proclamation: And all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland* to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who adhered to the King, being gone from thence, after the first Day's Meeting of their Parliament, (when the Duke had broken his Promise to them) had inform'd His Majesty at large of that which they thought foul Infidelity.

In the mean time the Discomposures, Jealousies and Disgusts, which reign'd at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniences; but not to digress and dwell upon Private Piques and Particular Animosities, the best Expedient His Majesty could find to dispel these Fumes was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Season of the Year was too far spent, and too many Officers hurt, for taking the Field again; besides, that many Regiments were return'd to their old Posts, (as the *Welsh* to defend their own Country from the Incursions from *Gloucester*, and to reduce some Towns in *Pembrokeshire*, which lying on the Sea by the help of the Parliaments Ships, begun to fortifie and gather Strength) yet he resolv'd his Forces about *Oxford* should not lye still. In the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with a strong Party of Horse, Foot and Dragoons, march'd into *Bedfordshire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who used it only as a strong Quarter. This Expedition was principally to countenance Sir *Lewis Dives*, whilst he Fortified *Newport Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garrison; which would have made a direct Line of Communication with the Northern Parts, and restrain the Commerce between *London* and their Associated Counties, which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first News of it; the Earl of

of *Essex* removed his Head Quarters from *Wind-*
for to *St. Albans*, and the Train'd-Bands of *Lon-*
don, and their Auxiliary Regiments, marched a-
 gain to him for his Recruit; upon the Advance-
 ment whereof, and a Mistake of Orders from *Oxford*,
Sir Lewis Dives drew off his Forces from *Newport*
Pennel and the Parliament's Forces presently pos-
 sessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful
 Garrison. Upon which Prince *Rupert* Fortified
Tossiter, a Town in *Northamptonshire*, and left a
 strong Garrison there; which, though it infested
 the Enemy somewhat, and took Revenge upon
 those Counties which had expressed a violent Af-
 fection to the Parliament, in Truth added little
 Strength to the King; for he lost many Horse by
 the Labour of Duty, the greatest part of the Bo-
 dy of his Horse being forced to Quarter near that
 Place, for the Security of the Foot, till the Works
 about the Town were in such a forwardness that they
 needed not fear their Neighbours at *St. Al-*
bans.

In the mean time the Power of the Parlia-
 ment was least Manifest in the West, where their
 Party was reduced to great Lowness, and confined
 within narrow Limits after the taking of *Exeter*;
 the Gentlemen of that County having been ge-
 nerally well devoted to the King's Service, though
 never able safely to declare it, at least to appear
 in a Posture of opposing the other Party. Prince
Maurice found a general Concurrence to advance
 the great Work by Levies of Money, Men, and
 all Offices that could be expected; insomuch
 as within very few Days after the Surrender of
 that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies,
 contain'd no fewer than Seven Thousand Men,
 besides a Body of Horse, at least proportionable
 to the other, and all excellently Equipped for
 Action. And at the same time Colonel *John Digby*
 was before *Plymouth* with above Three Thou-
 sand Foot, and Six Hundred Horse, and had ta-
 ken a Work from the Enemy of great Importance,
 called *Mount-Stamford*, in Honour of that Earl, du-
 ring the time of his Abode there, within Half a
 Mile of the Town and which commanded some
 Part

*The King's
 Affairs in
 the West.*

1643. Part of the River ; the Loss whereof gave the Town
 a great Discouragement.

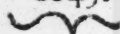
The first Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter* was staying too long there before he had advanced. The next that he moved nor directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move ; which in all probability would have yielded upon his Approach ; for the Town was full of Distraction and Jealousie amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the Reception of an Enemy. There was in it a Castle very strong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance, and little more than Musquet-shot from the Town was an Island with a Fort in it, much stronger than the Castle ; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garrison of about Fifty Men at the most ; and were only intended for a Security and Defence of the Town against a Foreign Invasion ; the Castle and the Island together having a good Command of the entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little Strength. This Command was in the Hand of Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and as unprovided to expect or resist an Enemy as the other Castles and Forts of the Kingdom ; less for the receiving a Recruit, there being only Ordnance and Ammunition, without any other Provisions for the Support of the Soldiers within the Walls ; and the Garrison it self being by Time, Marriages, and Trade, incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers : So that Sir *Jacob Ashley* being sent for to the King, before his setting up his Standard, as soon as there was any Apprehension of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen there, the Mayor and Corporation of *Plymouth* quickly got both the Castle and Island into their own Power.

The Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus secured ; and, as well to put an Obligation upon all Corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest Trusts, as because they could not in truth more reasonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government there-
 of

of to the Mayor ; who was well enough instructed what Respect to pay to their Committee ; which was appointed to reside there for his Assistance, and to conduct the Affairs in those Parts. Of that Committee Sir *Alexander Carew* was one ; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who serv'd in Parliament as Knight for that County, and had from the beginning of the Parliament concurr'd in all Conclusions with the most forward of them. To him the Custody and Government of that Fort and Island, which was looked upon as the Security of the Town, was committed, and a sufficient Garrison put into it. The Mayor commanded the Castle and the Town, about which a Line was cast up of Earth, weak and irregular. After the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing so far over the *West*, that *Bristol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* closely Besieged, Sir *Alexander Carew* begun to think his Island and Fort would hardly secure his Estate in *Cornwal* ; and understood the Law so well to know, that the Side he had chosen would be no longer the Better than it should continue the Stronger ; and having originally follow'd no other Motives than of Popularity and Interest, resolv'd now to redeem his Errors, and found means to correspond with some of his Old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Island to the King, upon an Assurance of His Majesty's Pardon, and a full Remission of his Offences. Sir *John Berkley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next Supreme Officer qualified to entertain such a Treaty ; and he instantly by the same Conveyance return'd him as ample Assurance of his Conditions as could be, with Advice, that he should not, upon any Defect of Forms, which upon his Engagement should be supplied with all possible Expedition, to his own Satisfaction, defer the consummating the Work, which hereafter possibly might not be in his Power to effect : Designs of that Nature being to be consulted and executed together. But he was so extremely wary of his Security, that he would not proceed till he

Carew
fails to be-
tray Ply-
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the King.

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was sufficiently assured that his Pardon was passed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable Haste was made, by the Infidelity of a Servant whom he trusted, his Treaty and Design was discover'd to the Mayor and the rest of the Committee; and according to the Diligence used by that Party in Cases of such Concernment, he was suddenly, and without Resistance, surprized in his Fort, and carried Prisoner into *Plymouth*, and from thence by Sea sent to *London*.

But how fortunate soever the Parliament then was in making this Discovery, the Fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to visit them, and then the Loss of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only considerable Fortification to the Land, with some other Discomposures, wrought a wonderful Consternation amongst the People of *Plymouth*; insomuch that the Mayor himself was not without a Propensity to send for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be deliver'd to the King; and it was by many believ'd, that if Prince *Maurice* had then march'd from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have been concluded; but he was perswaded first to bend his Course to *Dartmouth*, which was look'd upon 'as an easie Work, and a Harbour; ' which being got, would draw a very good ' Trade; and that short Work being perform'd, ' *Plymouth* would have the less Courage to make ' Resistance: And if it should, it were much fitter ' Work for the Winter, which was now drawing on, for it was more than the middle of *September*) ' than the other, by reason of the Conveniency ' of good Accommodation for the Soldiers near about it, which could not be had about *Dartmouth*.

Upon these Reasons he march'd directly to *Dartmouth*; which, how unfit soever to make a Defence against such an Army, by the Disadvantage of Situation, and the Want of all those Helps which use to make a Garrison confident, he found no Temper and Disposition to yield; so that he fate down before it. And shortly after there came

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Prince
Maurice
takes Dart-
mouth.

came so violent a Season of Rain and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the Ground, fell sick, and died, and more run away. Yet after near a Month's Siege, and the Loss of many good Men it was given up on Fair Conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garrison there under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of Principal Account and Interest in *Devonshire*, lost no more time, but with all convenient Expedition march'd to *Plymouth*, which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly inform'd how terrible an Impression the Loss of almost all other Parts of the *West* had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before this time sent a Recruit of Five Hundred Men, and a *Scotch* Officer to be Governour; who eas'd the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident that nothing but a resolute Defence was thought of. So the Prince sat down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had join'd Colonel *Digby*, to that which he had marched from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much Confidence to reduce that Town before Winter should be over, tho' without any Success: However, the King's Affairs had a much better Face in a manner everywhere than that of the Parliament, only in the *North* the Marquis of *Newcastle* had been forced to rise as unfortunately from before *Hull* as the King had been from *Gloucester*, yet he had still a full Power over *Torkshire*, and a greater in *Nottinghamshire* and *Lincolnshire*, than the Parliament had. And *Lyn Regis* in *Norfolk* was by the Gentry of the Country seized for the Parliament.

Besieges
Plymouth.

I shall but just mention, that Sir *Edward Hungerford* having taken *Warder-Castle* in the *West* for the Parliament, Mr. *Ludlow*, who was thereupon entrusted with the Defence of it, made such a Gallant Opposition against a Body of the King's Troops that attempted to Retake it as is hardly to be imagined, and after being reduced to the utmost Extremity, surrendered it at last upon Condition of Quarter given, without Distinction, for the Lives of every one of the Garrison, Civil Usage for all his Par-

ty,

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The Count
d'Harcourt Ar-
rives Am-
bassador
from
France.

ty, not to be carried to *Oxford*, and a speedy Exchange; the Breach of which Articles he severely complains of in his Memoirs. *Oliver Cromwell* began also now to make himself known in the *North*; where having defeated several Troops of Horse and Dragoons of the King near *Grantham*, with a very unequal Force, he soon after did the same near *Gaisborough* by the Earl of *Newcastle* and his Brother *Cavendish*, who was his Lieutenant-General, as he was marching to summon that Place. In his next Encounter with the Earl of *Newcastle's* Forces under *Henderson* he had his Horse killed under him, but gained the Day, and became quickly Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Manchester* for the Parliament. But upon the whole Matter, the King now might be strong enough to make War; the contrary Opinion whereof had been one of the greatest Reasons that there was no Peace. Therefore many believ'd that what Appearance soever there was of Obstinacy, the Winter would produce some Overtures of Accommodation; that all the Noise of Preparation from *Scotland* was only to incline the King to the greater Condescensions; and that, in Truth, they who had pretended the Concurrent Desire of the People as the best Reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a Purpose of bringing Foreign Forces to awe and impose upon his own Subjects, would not now have the Hardiness to bring in a Stranger Nation to invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whose Affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to Changes they had no Mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt* as Extraordinary Ambassador from the Crown of *France*, was looked upon as an Expedient to usher in some Treaty, and to remove those Ceremonies, and Preliminary Propositions, which by reason of the mutual Declarations and Protections against each other might be thought of more difficulty than any real Differences between them. The King himself was not without some good Hopes from this Ambassie, for the State of *France* seem'd to be much alter'd from what it was at the beginning of these Tronbles. Cardinal *Richelieu*

lieu, who the King well knew had more than 1643.
 fomented the Troubles both in *England* and *Scotland*,
 was now dead; and the King of *France* him-
 self likewise, and those Old Ministers of State
 who had been long in the *Bastile*, or Banish'd,
 were now set at Liberty, Recall'd, and in Favour,
 the Queen-Mother made Regent, who profess'd
 great Personal Kindness to the Queen of *England*,
 and so great a Sense of the Indignities the King and
 she suffer'd, that she seem'd sensible that *France* con-
 tributed too much to them, and to think that the
 Interest as well as Honour of that Crown was
 concern'd to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*;
 with Intimations, 'that the King himself should di-
 rect what Way he would be serv'd by that Crown.
 The first Evidence they gave of meaning as
 they said, was the Revocation of Monsieur *la*
Ferte Sennecterre, the Ambassador then Resident in
England; who had contracted a wonderful Fami-
 liarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parlia-
 ment, and done the King all imaginable Disservice;
 insomuch as he had industriously perswaded some
English Priests and Jesuits to engage those of the
 Romish Perswasion by no Means to assist the
 King, with a full Assurance, 'that the Parliament
 'would allow them Liberty of Conscience. This
 Minister his Majesty desired might be recalled;
 which was not only suddenly done, but a Private
 Intimation likewise given to Our Queen, 'that
 'She should nominate what Person was to be
 'employed in his Place; who would wholly guide
 'himself by her Instructions: And her Majesty was
 'led to make choice of Monsieur *le Conte d' Har-*
court one of the Principal Persons of that King-
 dom. His Reception at *London* was with much
 Solemnity, that he might not find there was any
 absence of Ceremony or State by the absence of the
 King; yet when he had a safe Conduct for *Oxford*,
 his Carriages were stopp'd at the going out of
London, and his own Coach, as well as other
 Places, searched, upon Suspicion that he carried
 Letters; and though he expostulated the Affront
 as a high Violation of his Honour and Privilege,
 he receiv'd no manner of Reparation, or the Officer
 that

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that did it any Reprehension; which made many believe that he would have been very keen in the Resentment. The King expected that by this Ambassador the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majesty's Behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their Regular Obedience, that they should have found no Correspondence or Reception in that Kingdom, and that they would really assist his Majesty in such manner as he should propose: Which Declaration he thought would prove of Moment with the City of *London*, in respect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were understood to have an especial Dependence upon *France*. When the Ambassador return'd from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he staid not many Days, he sent a Paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he desired his Lordship 'to impart to the 'Parliament, that he had made known to their 'Majesties the Affectionate Desire the King his 'Matter, and the Queen his Mistress, had to 'contribute all good Offices, in the Procurement 'of Peace and Tranquility in this Kingdom, 'to which he found the Desires of their Majesty's well disposed; and therefore he desired to 'know whether his Lordship thought the Two 'Houses did correspond in the same Intention: If 'they should make him understand the Subject 'that had obliged them to take up Arms, he would 'interpose to pacifie the Differences by such 'Expedients as should be most conformable to 'the Ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm. After the Earl had inform'd the House of Peers of this Representation, it was at a Conference imparted to the Commons, and an Answer was framed by joint Agreement, to be return'd by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Ambassador. In the Form of it they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Esquier of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the Sight of his Instructions from the King, and Queen Regent of *France*, that he was employed Extraordinary Ambassador into *England*.

The

The Answer itself was, 'that the Lords and Commons in Parliament did, with all due Respect, accept of the Affectionate Desires of the King, and Queen Regent of *France*, to contribute their good Offices towards the procuring a happy Peace; and that when the said Monsieur le Prince d' *Harcourt* should make any such Propositions to the Parliament, by Authority from their Majesties of *France*, they would give them such an Answer to the same as might stand with the Interest of both Kingdoms, and their late Solemn League and Covenant. The Lords proposed, 'that there might be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Ambassador, but the Commons would by no Means consent to it, 'till he should make it manifest that he had Authority from his Master to Treat with the Parliament; and withal they declared, 'that if he had at any time any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular Member of either House; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of Either or Both Houses of Parliament, otherwise they would hold no Correspondence with him.

When this Extraordinary Ambassador was appointed to come for *England*, Mr. *Walter Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much trusted by Both their Majesties, and by his Quality, and near Relation to so great a Trust, his long Conversation in that Court, and a singular Dexterity in his Nature, adorn'd with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the Favour and particular Estimation of that Queen Regent, and in the Opinion of the Cardinal, to whom he had been useful. With this Gentleman most of the Conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the Ambassador's Journey; and it was thought fit that he should at the same time come into *England*, and in such a Disguise as might easily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, and in the Ambassador's Train find a safe Passage to *Oxford*; which was carried with so much Secrecy that, besides to the Ambassador himself, he was

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At the Ambassador's first coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures and Declarations of the Resolution of that Crown to give his Majesty all possible Assistance for his Re-establishment, he proposed a League Offensive and Defensive with the King. His Majesty, thinking that such an Offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an Occasion to refuse those Things he should propose, appointed a Committee of his Council to Treat with the Ambassador upon all necessary Articles, which should attend such a Treaty; declaring an Inclination to enter into such a League as was proposed; and thereupon desired a Loan of Money, and a Supply of a good Proportion of Arms and Ammunition; and likewise that the Crown of *France* would declare against the Subjects of *England* and *Scotland*, who should persist in Rebellion, according to an Article ratified in the last Treaty now in force. The Ambassador, who it seems expected that there should have been more Pauses in the Overture of the League Offensive and Defensive, for the present declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging that he was, upon the Matter, a Minister of Both their Majesties; and was to receive Command from them, and wholly to attend their Service; and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate with their Majesties themselves; and shortly after waved any farther Mention of the League, with an affected Complement, that it would not appear a generous Thing to press the King to any Act in this his Distress, which he had made Scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of both Crowns were equally Prosperous: But that

that his Master and Mistress would frankly contribute all that could be reasonably expected from them towards his Majesty's Restoration and Establishment, and afterwards expect such a Return of Affection from his Majesty, as the Greatness of the Obligation should merit in his Princely Estimation. And at the same time the Queen Regent and Cardinal positively denied to the Lord Goring, Embassadour Extraordinary then from his Majesty in France, that ever the Court of Harcourt had any Instruction to mention a League Offensive. These particular Carriages, and his not resenting the Indignities offer'd to him by the Parliament, made many Men believe, this Ambassador, notwithstanding all the specious Professions, was sent rather to foment than extinguish the Fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his Stay in England he did not in the least degree advance the King's Service, and at his Return left the Parliament more united amongst themselves against the King, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French Agent in Scotland, who produced no Alteration in the Affections of that People to the King Advantage.

The King's Court at Oxford was still in some Distraction, and His Majesty's Aversion so far to forgive and forget former Offences, as more particularly in the Case of the Earl of Holland; made deep Impressions upon many but the Lords and Commons were all now of a Mind, and no other Contention amongst them, than who should most advance the Power which was to suppress the King's: New and stricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, that no Man should be in any Office or Trust in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the Common Council of London, or should have a Voice in the Election of those Officers, but such who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who had taken the Covenant, if they had been formerly Imprison'd, or Sequestr'd for Suspicion of Malignancy, or adhering to the King. And that they might

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The Com-
mons vote
a Broad
Seal :

as well provide for their Jurisdiction in Civil Matters, as their Security in Martial, they again resumed the Consideration of the Seal of *England*. The Commons had often pressed the House of Peers to concur with them 'in the making a 'New Great Seal, as the proper Remedy against 'the Mischiefs which by the absence of it had 'befallen the 'Commonwealth; declaring, 'that 'the Great Seal of *England* of Right, ought to attend upon the Parliament; in which the Peers as often refused to join with them. But this Dissent of the Lords hinder'd not the Business; the Commons frankly Voted, 'That a Seal should be provided, and accordingly took Order that one was engraven, and brought into their House, according to the same Size and Effigies, and nothing differing from that which the King used at *Oxford*. Being in this Readiness, and observing the Lords to be less scrupulous than they had been, about the middle of *November* they sent again to them to let them know 'they had a Great Seal 'ready, which should be put into the Custody 'of such Persons as the Two Houses should appoint, and if they would name some Peers, a 'proportionable Number of the other Body should 'join in the executing that Trust. All Objections were now passed over, and without Hesitation their Lordships not only concurr'd with them to have a Seal in their own Disposal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance, by which they declared 'all Letters Patents and Grants made by the King, and passed the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22d of *May* in the Year 1642, ' (which was the Day the Lord Keeper left the 'House, and went with the Great Seal to *Tork* 'to the King) to be invalid and void in Law; 'henceforward that their own Great Seal should 'be of the like Force, Power, Validity, to all Intents and Purposes, as any Great Seal of *England* 'had been or ought to be; and that whosoever, after 'Publication of that Ordinance, should pass any 'thing under any other Great Seal, or should 'claim any thing thereby, should be held and adjudged a publick Enemy to the State.

At

At the same time the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullingbrook* of the Peers, Mr. *Saint Johns* (whom they still intituled the King's Solicitor-General, though His Majesty had revoked his Patent, and conferr'd that Office upon Sir *Thomas Gardner*) Serjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Brown*, and *Prideaux*, Two private Practitioners of the Law, were nominated 'to have the keeping, ordering and disposing of it, and all such and the like Power and Authority, as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal, for the Time being, had or ought to have. But the Earl of *Rutland* was so modest as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a Trust, and therefore excused himself in Point of Conscience: Upon which they nominated in his room the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner Parts, who readily accepted the Place. The Seal then was deliver'd in the House of Commons to their Speaker, and by him, with much Solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that House. The Six Commissioners were then in the Presence of Both Houses solemnly 'sworn to 'execute the Office of Keepers of the Great Seal of *England*, in all Things according to the Orders and Directions of Both Houses of Parliament. And thereupon the Seal was deliver'd by the Two Speakers to them, who carried it according to Order to the Clerk of the Parliament in the Old Palace, where it was kept lock'd up in a Chest, which could not be open'd but in the Presence of Three of them, and with Three several Keys. This Work being over, they appointed a Patent to be sealed to the Earl of *Warwick* of Lord High Admiral of *England*, which was done accordingly; by which many concluded that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that Great Office for their Sakes, was not restored to their full Confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their Livery,

The King before this had published several Proclamations for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary Legal Form of having

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ving the Writs read in the Court; so that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the Order and Declarations publish'd by the Two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law believing that Assumption to be unquestionably out of their Jurisdiction. These Writs of Adjournment had never yet been deliver'd seasonably, to be read in Court, or into the Hands of either of the Sworn Judges, who yet attended at *Westminster*, of which there were Three in Number, Justice *Bacon* in the *King's Bench*, Justice *Reeve* in the *Common-Pleas*, and Baron *Trevor* in the *Exchequer*; who many believ'd would not have bare-faced declin'd the Execution of those Commands they were sworn to observe. Several Messengers were therefore sent from *Oxford* with those Writs; and appointed on or before such a Day (for that Circumstance was Penal) 'to find an Opportunity, 'to deliver the Writs into the Hands of 'the several Judges. Two of them perform'd their Charges, and deliver'd the Writs to Justice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*, who immediately caused the Messengers to be apprehended. The Houses being inform'd of it, gave Direction 'that 'they should be tried by a Council of War as 'Spies; which was done at *Essex-House*. The Messengers alledged 'that they were Sworn 'Servants to his Majesty for the Transaction of 'those Services for which they were now accused; and that they had been legally punishable, 'if they had refused to do their Duties; the 'Term being to be adjourn'd by no other 'Way. Notwithstanding all which, they were Both condemn'd to be Hang'd, as Spies, and One of them, *Daniel Kniveton*, was Executed; the other, after he had stood some Time upon or under the Gallows, looking for the same Conclusion, was Repriev'd, and sent to *Bridewel*; where he was kept long after, till he made an Escape, and return'd again to *Oxford*. This Example begot great Terror in all those well-affected to the King's Cause about *London*; and so much the more, because about

about the same time an Ordinance was made, 'that
' whosoever went to *Oxford*, or into any of the
' King's Quarters, without leave from One of the
' Houses, or a Pass from their General, or who-
' soever had any Correspondence with any Person
' in the King's Quarters, by writing Letters,
' or receiving Letters, from thence, should
' be proceeded against as a Person disaffected to
' the State; and his Person committed, and
' his Estate sequester'd; and should be liable,
' according to the Circumstances, to be tried as
' a Spie.

As this made their Power exceeding terrible to
those who loved them not, so about the same
time they gave another Instance of the same,
which render'd their Government no less revered
amongst their Friends and Associates. The Brave
Defence of *Gloucester*, and the great Success that
attended it, made the Loss of *Bristol* the more
felt by the Parliament, and consequently the De-
livery and Yielding it up the more liberally spo-
ken of and censured. The which Colonel *Fiennes*
having not Patience to bear, he desired, being a
Member of the House of Commons, and of a
Swaying Interest there, 'that he might be put
' to give an Account of it at a Court of War,
' which was the proper Judicature upon Tref-
' passes of that Nature. And in the mean time
' he was powerful enough, upon some Collateral
and Circumstantial Passages, to procure some of
the Chief who inveigh'd against him to be
Imprison'd and Reprehended. This begot greater
Passion and Animosity in the Persons that thought
they suffer'd unjustly, and only by the Authority
and Interest of the Colonel and his Father; up-
on whose Reputation and Interest the Son de-
pended so much, as well as upon his own sup-
posed Services to the Parliament, that he did not
doubt but to come off with flying Colours; but quite
contrary after a long and solemn Hearing he was
Condemn'd, tho' afterwards pardoned, upon which
he retired beyond the Seas.

Col. Fein-
nes tried
for Surren-
dering Bri-
stol.

The King being all this while sensible of the
Power of his Enemies in *England*, to which he
could

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could not but foresee a Considerable Addition of Force would likewise speedily accrue from *Scotland* by vertue of the Covenant, begun to think of Expedients from *Ireland* that he might apply the Power of that towards the settling Matters in his other Dominions. The Lords Justices and Council, had before this sent a short Petition to his Majesty, which was presented to them in the Name of his Catholick Subjects, then in Arms against him, by which they only desired, with full Expressions of Duty and Submission to his Majesty, that he would appoint some Persons to hear what they could say for themselves, and to present the same to his Majesty: Hereupon the King Authorized by his Commission the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without Authority to conclude any Thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commission, the Marquis finding that this Petition was prosecuted with less Ingenuity than it seem'd to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced against them with his Army, and gave them a very signal Defeat; which reform'd their application, and made it more submissive.

In the mean time (though in all Actions and Councils the Lords Justices and Council there had yielded punctual Obedience to all Directions from the Parliament) the Affairs of that Kingdom suffer'd exceedingly for want of Provisions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the Two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that Purpose, enabled by his Majesty to send.] Inſomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the Fourth of *April*, this present Year, advertized the Speaker of the House of Commons, that they had been compell'd, for the Preservation of the Army, to take Money from all who had it, and to wrest their Commodities from the Poor Merchants, whom they had now, by the Law of Necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing them in Victuals, or other needful Commodities;

modities : And that there were few of themselves, or others, that had not felt their Parts in the enforced Rigour of their Proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to them to do, than it was heavy to others to suffer, and by their descending, against their Hearts, far below the Honour and Dignity of that Power they represented under his Royal Majesty, they had, with unspeakable Difficulties, prevail'd so as to be able to find Bread for the Soldiers for the space of one Month : That they were then expelling thence all Strangers, and must instantly send away for *England* Thousands of poor despoil'd *English*, whose very eating was now insupportable to that Place ; and therefore they said they did again earnestly and finally desire (for their Confusions would not now admit the writing of many more Letters, if any) some Supplies of Victuals and Munition might in Present be hasten'd thither to keep Life, until the rest might follow ; there being no Victuals in store, nor One Hundred Barrels of Powder ; which, according to the usual necessary Expences, besides extraordinary Accidents, would not last above a Month.

A Copy of this Letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, that his Majesty might be inform'd of the sadness of their Condition, and, with it, a Copy of a Paper that Morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army ; who, after sharp Expressions of the Miseries they sustain'd, and Expostulations thereupon, concluded, that if their Lordships would take them into their timely Considerations, before their urgent Wants made them desperate, they would serve them readily and faithfully ; but if their Lordships would not find a way for their Preservations there, they humbly desired they might have leave to go where they might have a better Being : And if they refused to grant that, they themselves must then take leave to have recourse to that first and primary Law, which God had endued all Men with, the Law of Nature, which taught all Men to preserve themselves.

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The Parliament's Hands were full, so that about the end of *May* the Lords Justices and Council having receiv'd no probable Hope of Assistance from them, sent an Address immediately to the King that himself might conclude, in that Exigent, what was to be done for Preservation of One of his Three Kingdoms. This Letter, Subscribed by the Lords Justices, and Members of the Council-Board, being the Ground and Foundation of the Resolutions which his Majesty afterwards took according to *Cl——*, it's not improper to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

*An Address of
the Lords
Justices
and Council in Ire-
land to the
King.*

May it please your most Excellent Majesty;

' As soon as we your Majesty's Justices enter'd into the Charge of this Government, we took into our Considerations, at the Board, the State of your Army here, which we find suffering under unspeakable Extremity of want of all things Necessary to the Support of their Persons, or Maintenance of the War, here being no Victuals, Cloaths, or other Provisions requisite towards their Substenance; no Money to provide them any thing they want; no Arms in your Majesty's Stores to supply their many defective Arms; not above Forty Barrels of Powder in your Stores; no strength of serviceable Horses being now left here; and those few that are, their Armes for the most Part lost, or unserviceable; no Ships arriv'd here to guard the Coast, and consequently no Security render'd to any that might, on their private Adventures, bring in Provisions of Victuals, or other Necessaries, towards our Subsistence, and finally, no visible Means, by Sea or Land, of being able to preserve for you this Kingdom, and to render Deliverance from utter Destruction to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left here.

' We find that your Majesty's late Justices, and this Board, have often and fully, by very many Letters, advertised the Parliament in *England* of the Extremities of Affairs here, and besought relief with all possible importunity; which

‘ which also have been fully represented to your
‘ Majesty, and the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr.
‘ Secretary *Nicholas*, to be made known to your
‘ Majesty : And although the Winds have of late
‘ for many Days, and often formerly, stood very
‘ fair for Accessions of Supply forth of *England*
‘ hither, and that We have still, with longing
‘ Expectations, hoped to find Provisions arrive
‘ here, in some degree answerable to the Necessities
‘ of your Affairs, yet now, to our unspeakable
‘ Grief, after full Six Months Waiting, and much
‘ longer Patience and Long-suffering, we find
‘ all our great Expectations answer’d in a mean
‘ and inconsiderable quantity of Provisions, *viz.*
‘ Threescore and Fifteen Barrels of Butter, and
‘ Fourteen Tun of Cheese, being but the Fourth
‘ Part of a Vessel’s Lading, which was sent from *Lon-*
‘ *don*, and arrived here the Fifth Day of this Month,
‘ which is not above Seven or Eight Days Pro-
‘ vision for that Part of the Army which lyes in
‘ *Dublin*, and the Out Garrisons thereof; no
‘ Money or Victuals (other than that inconsidera-
‘ ble Proportion of Victuals) having arriv’d in
‘ this Place, as sent from the Parliament of *Eng-*
‘ *land*, or from any other Fort of *England*, for
‘ the use of the Army, since the beginning of
‘ *November* last.

‘ We have, by the Blessing of God, been hi-
‘ therto prosperous and successful in your Ma-
‘ jesty’s Affairs here, and should be still hopeful
‘ by the Mercy of God, under the Royal Di-
‘ rections of your Sacred Majesty, to vindicate your
‘ Majesty’s Honour, to recover your Rights here
‘ and take due Vengeance on those Traitors for
‘ the Innocent Blood they have spill’d, if we
‘ might be strengthen’d and supported therein
‘ by needful Supplies forth of *England* : But these
‘ Supplies having been hitherto expected to come
‘ from the Parliament of *England* (on which if
‘ your Majesty had not relied, we are assured you
‘ would, in your high Wisdom, have found out
‘ some other Means to preserve this your King-
‘ dom) and so great and apparent a Failure ha-
‘ ving happen’d therein, and all the former, and late
‘ long

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long continuing Easterly Winds, bringing us no other
 Provisions than those few Cheeses and Butter,
 and no Advertisements being brought us
 of any future Supply to be so much as in the
 Way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood
 that considerable Means of Support for
 your Majesty's Army might arrive here, in any
 reasonable Time, before we be totally swallowed
 up by the Rebels, and your Kingdom by
 them wrested from you: We find our selves
 so disappointed of our Hopes from the Parliament,
 as must needs trench to the utter Loss of
 the Kingdom, if your Majesty in your high
 Wisdom ordain not some present Means of
 Preservation for us. And considering that if
 now, by Occasion of that unhappy and unexpected
 failing of Support from thence, we shall
 be less successful in your Service here against
 the Rebels, than hitherto, whilst we were enabled
 with some Means to serve you, we have
 been, the Shame and Dishonour may, in common
 Construction of those that know not the inwards
 of the Cause, be imputed to us and not to the
 Failings that disabled us: And considering principally,
 and above all things, the High and Eminent
 Trust of your Affairs here, deposited
 with us by your Sacred Majesty, we may not
 forbear, in discharge of our Duty, thus freely
 and plainly to declare our humble Apprehensions,
 to the end your Majesty, thus truly understanding
 the Terribleness of our Condition, may
 find out some such Means of Support to preserve
 to your Majesty and your Royal Posterity
 this your Ancient and Rightful Crown, and
 Kingdom, and derive Deliverance and Safety
 to the Remnant of your good Subjects yet left
 here, as in your Excellent Judgment you shall
 find to be most for your Honour and Advantage.
 And so Praying the King of Kings to guide and
 direct you for the best, in this high and important
 Case, and in all other your Counsels and
 Actions, we humbly remain.

*From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 11th of
 May, 1643.*

His

His Majesty, after Two Months delay, and having receiv'd fresh Importunities and Advices from thence, about the end of *July* writ to the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, 'that they should issue out a Commission, under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, 'to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat and Conclude a Cessation of Arms with the Rebels, upon such Articles and Conditions as he should judge most reasonable; and during that Cessation, that such Agents as they could make choice of should have Access to his Royal Person, to present their own Propositions for Peace. Hereupon the Marquis of *Ormond* being then only General of the Horse there, enter'd upon a Treaty with Commissioners authorized by the Council at *Kilkenny*, to whose Jurisdiction the Rebels had committed the whole Government of their Affairs; and Articles of Cessation being prepared for a Year, and approved by the Lords Justices and Council, without whose Advice the Marquis would not proceed, and all the Principal Officers of the Army having given it under their Hands, being present likewise at the Treaty, 'that it was 'most Necessary for the Preservation of that Kingdom that a Cessation should be made for 'a Year upon those Articles and Conditions: And the Rebels undertaking 'to pay to his Majesty's Use Thirty Thousand Pound Sterling withing a short time; whereof Fifteen Thousand Eight Hundred Pound in ready Money, and the other Fifteen Thousand Pounds, one half in Money, and the other half in good Beefs, at Thirty Pounds the Score, a Cessation of Arms was concluded by the Marquis; and published, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords Justices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the Fifteenth Day of *September*, and to continue for the space of a whole Year.

This Cessation was no sooner known in *England* but the Two Houses declared against it with all the sharpness that can be imagined, insisting 'that the Rebels were now brought to their last Gasp, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, that 'like *Cambals*, they eat one another, and must 'have

A Cessation
of Arms
in Ireland
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‘ have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if by the Popish Counsels at Court, the King had not been perswaded to consent to this Cessation. Its not untrue that some at least, of the *Irish* Officers, came into the King’s Service in *England*, which occasion’d many Invectives and Pasquils; that the Queens Army of *French* and *Walloon* Papists, and the King’s Army of *English* Papists, together with the *Irish* Rebels were to Settle the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of *England*. But that the true State of *Ireland* may be understood at the time of the Cessation, take these Two Letters, the one of Expostulation from the Two Houses to the Lords Justices and Council, which was receiv’d by them after the Cessation agreed on; the Answer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters were in these Words.

To Our very good Lords, the Lords Justices and Council for the Kingdom of Ireland.

‘ Our very good Lords,

A Letter concerning it, from the Two Houses to the Lords Justices July. 4.

‘ THE Lords and Commons in Parliament, have Commanded us to let you know, they have seen your Letter of the Tenth of *June*, directed to the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the Preamble whereof is an Expression to this Effect, that your present Difficulties are Occasion’d through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in *England*, who undertook the Charge of this War. This Letter and Act of Council, were sent by his Majesty from *Oxford*; to whom they believe you have sent Copies of both, and have just Cause to suspect, that there is an Impious Design now on Foot, to sell for nought the crying Blood of many Hundred Thousand of *British* Protestants, by a dishonourable, unsufferable Peace with the Rebels, and then to lay the Blame and Shame of this upon the Parliament; a Plot suitable

ble to those Counsels that have both projected and fomented this unparallel'd Rebellion: For those who contrived the Powder Treason intended to lay it on the Puritans. And although they cannot think your Lordships intended to further this Design by this Expression, yet they have cause to believe you have forgotten the Present Condition of this Kingdom; the Supplies they have sent thither of all Sorts, even in the midst of their own Wants; what Relief going thither hath been taken away by Sea and Land, and by whom; and what Discouragements have been given them in Return: So that as your Lordships do truly observe the Protestant Party in that City desirous to contribute, in all things, towards Preservation of that Kingdom, and that the Opposition therein is from those of the Popish Party, so this Kingdom have contributed, and are still endeavouring to contribute, Moneys, Ammunition, Victuals, and other Necessaries, for the Saving of that Kingdom: And that the Popish and Malignant Party here, now in Arms against the Parliament and Kingdom, have not assisted, in the least measure, this Pious Work, but, on the contrary, do hinder and oppose the same: Neither should your Lordships conceive, that only the Charge of that War was referr'd to and undertaken by the Parliament, as if their Part was to be your Bankers, only to provide Money for you to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the War; although an Act of Parliament hath invested them with that Power; which they must assume and vindicate as the Means to save that Kingdom; and shall bring to Condign Punishment those there, who, in this Conjunction of Affairs, have advised the Commission to hear what the Rebels can say or propound for their own Advantage; the Letters to divest their Committee of an Authority given them by Both Houses, and that advised the late Alteration of Government there, as Enemies to the Weal of Both Kingdoms, and Fautors of that Rebellion. In the last Place, we are forbidden to tell you what Supplies of Money, Victuals,

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‘ Victuals, Ammunition, and other Necessaries,
 ‘ are in forwardness to be sent over for the
 ‘ support of the Officers and Soldiers there, and
 ‘ by whose incessant Care, lest they should
 ‘ seem to Answer the Scandal by Excuse, which
 ‘ deserves an high Resentment. This being all we
 ‘ have in command for present, we bid your Lord-
 ‘ ships farewell, and remain

‘ Your Lordships Friends to serve you,
 ‘ *Grey of Warke,*

Speaker of the House of Lords *pro tempore.*
William Lenthall,

Speaker of the Commons House in Parliament.

‘ The Lords and Commons will examine the
 ‘ Demeanour of the Ships appointed to guard
 ‘ those Coasts; and might have expected a Copy
 ‘ of *Mountrose’s* Letter to Colonel *Crawford*,
 ‘ which came to your Hands before the 10th of
 ‘ *June*; and, happily, would discover the Treason
 ‘ of the Rebels, sent by your Enemies to de-
 ‘ stroy you, as well as a Complaint of those Sea
 ‘ Captains sent to your Friends to defend you;
 ‘ whose Neglects and Misdeeds are, notwithstanding
 ‘ to be punish’d, according as their demerits shall
 ‘ appear. *Westminster the 4th of July. 1643.*

*To our very good Lord, the Lord Speaker of the Right
 Honourable the Lords House of Parliament, in the
 Kingdom of England, and to our very loving Friend,
 William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of the Honour-
 able Commons House in Parliament in the said King-
 dom.*

‘ Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the
 ‘ Commons House in Parliament.

*The Lords
 Justices
 Answer.*

‘ **Y**OUR joint Letters, of the Fourth of *July* last
 ‘ directed to us, were so long in coming as they
 ‘ came not to our Hands until the Sixth of *October*.
 ‘ By those your Letters you signifie that the
 ‘ Lords and Commons in Parliament, have com-
 ‘ manded you to let us know that they have
 ‘ seen our Letters of the Tenth of *June*, directed
 ‘ to

to the Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the Preamble whereof, there is an Expression to this Effect, that our present Difficulties were occasion'd through the Failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who undertook the Charge of this War; to which Expression it seems Exception is taken, and Interpretations made thereof, far otherwise we are sure than was intended by us; and, as we conceive, otherwise than the true Sense of those Words can bear. It is true, that when we were necessitated to set on Foot the Imposition, raised here in Nature of an Excise, towards keeping this Army from perishing by Famine, it became Necessary to express in the Act of Council whereby we order'd it, the Reasons inducing us to set on Foot here a thing so unknown to his Majesty's Laws, and Gracious Government, and the Difficulties wherewith we contended, which did necessitate that Resolution; and in expressing those Difficulties, we used that Expression, to shew whence our Difficulties were occasion'd; and that we have therein declared the Truth, we crave leave to Mind you of some Particulars.

If we should look so far back as to repeat the Substance of many Dispatches sent from this Board, since the beginning of this Rebellion; some to our very good Lord, the Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom; some to the Lords, and others, Members of Both Houses, his Majesty's Commissioners for the Affairs of this Kingdom; and some to the Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament there, it would prove a voluminous Work; and therefore we forbear to look farther back into those Dispatches, than to the time when the Committee sent thence hither, were here; who, at their Arrival here in the end of October, 1642, brought with them some Money and Provisions, but far short of that which the Necessities of this Army required; and indeed so inconsiderable, in respect of those Necessities, as even before that Committee departed, they saw the Money they had brought wholly issued; and the high

U and

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and unavoidable Necessity of a farther, speedy and plentiful Supply of Money, and other Provisions. By Letters from this Board of the 20th of *January*, 1642, and directed to the Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament there, it was signified thither, that the Provisions of Victuals here were then at the very bottom; that that Committee then here had certified thither those Wants; that if a Personal Supply of Victual arrived not here very speedily, the Army could not subsist, but must have been constrain'd to Disband, to the Loss of this Kingdom, and utter Destruction of the few Subjects here: That the want of Treasure here to pay the Army, enforced this Board to issue Victual to the Common Soldier, and others, towards their Pay, which did the sooner exhaust the Magazine of Victual; that the Captains, and other Officers, nor having Relief that Way, were reduced to great Extremities, as had been formerly often represented thither; and therefore this Board, by the said Letters then moved that Treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem the Officers from the Calamities they suffer'd, and this Board from their unsupportable Clamours; and to enable the Payment in some part in Money to the Common Soldier, so to make the Victual we then expected to hold out the longer.

It was also by those Letters then advertised thither, that the Extremities of the Officers of the Army had begotten so much Discontent amongst them, as divers Colonels, and others of them, presented at this Board a Remonstrance, whereof a Copy was then sent inclosed in the said Letters; which Remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and perplex us, lest it might beget such Divisions amongst us, as might give too much Advantage to the Rebels. But, after full Debate thereof at this Board, it was here directed, that in present to render some Subsidience to the Officers, until Treasure arriv'd forth of *England*, every Man in this City should bring in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when

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when Treasure arriv'd; whereupon some Plate was brought in, and applied towards the Army. This Board did also signifie by those Letters, that without some speedy Relief forth of England, the Burthen here was become too heavy to be borne; and therefore in discharge of our Duty to God, to our Gracious Sovereign, to that Kingdom, and to this, we held our selves bound clearly to make known, that unless we were speedily supplied from thence with Money, Arms and Victual, it would be impossible for us any farther to prosecute this War, or to preserve from suddain Confusion this State and Government: So highly did the Discontent of the Officers, and the Disorder of the Soldiers, threaten us, hat it might be easily apprehended what, in all Humane Probability, must become of us, when it was then evident that here was no Money, nor any Possibility of procuring any in this City; when our Victuals were spent; when a great Part of the Army had no Arms; upon which we doubted and feared, for the Reasons in those Letters express'd, that the Soldiers would make Prey of us and this City at last; and when we saw that the Destruction then threaten'd against us must then go farther, even to the Loss of this Crown and Kingdom, and to the highly endangering of that Kingdom also, which for the Honour of his Majetty and the English Nation, we by our said Letters desired might, by the Wisdom of that Honourable House, be speedily prevented, by hastening away with all possible Speed Supply of Money, Arms and Victuals.

By other Letters of this Board, directed to Mr. Speaker, and dated the said Twentieth of January, 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was become of absolute Necessity that there should be sent us from thence, speedily, Six Hundred Light Geldings for Recruits, to be defaultk'd out of the Entertainments of those who should receive them. But other Letters from this Board of the same Date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither, that we had contradicted an Agreement here with *Theodore Schout* and *Jaacob Ablin*, Merchants,

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' chants, that *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wi-*
 ' brant, in *Amsterdam*, should receive Seven Thou-
 ' sand Eight Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Pounds
 ' Three Shillings; for which the said *Theodore* and
 ' *Jacob* had undertaken by their Agreement with us,
 ' to buy in *Holland*, and to Transport from thence
 ' hither, at their own Charge and Adventure, sever-
 ' al Proportions of Arms mention'd in a Docquet,
 ' then sent inclosed in our said Letters; and they
 ' undertook so to secure it by Insurance, and provide
 ' such a Ship of Force as we might be assured to
 ' have all those Arms arrive here by the Tenth of
 ' *March* now last past. And we by our said Letters
 ' earnestly besought that the said Sum of Seven
 ' Thousand Eight Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen
 ' Pounds Three Shillings, might by Order of that
 ' Honourable House be speedily paid to the said
 ' *Tyrenes* or *Wibrant*, that those Provisions might
 ' arrive here by the Tenth of *March*; that we might
 ' not lose the Advantage of the then next Spring
 ' for recovering such of the Sea-ports, and other
 ' Places of Importance, as the Rebels had gotten;
 ' and for proceeding effectually in this War. These
 ' Letters also moved for other Provisions of War,
 ' which we conceive might be had in *England* in
 ' reasonable Time. And we then sent a Docquet
 ' of those also, desiring earnestly they might be
 ' sent us speedily. And although there was an
 ' Agent sent from hence in *November* 1641, to sol-
 ' licite the dispatches sent from hence, who attended
 ' at *London* when those our Letters were sent hence;
 ' yet of so great Importance was that Dispatch,
 ' requiring instant and speedy Answer and Sup-
 ' ply from thence, as we adjudged it necessary to
 ' give special Instructions to the Lord *Conway*, and
 ' others, (besides that Agent then there attending,)
 ' to move his Majesty, and sollicite the Houses of
 ' Parliament, to hasten unto us with all possible Speed
 ' the Provisions in those Letters contain'd: And that
 ' there might nothing be omitted that by Sollicitati-
 ' on could be obtain'd, there were Agents also sent
 ' thither from the Army to sollicite for them. By
 ' Letters from this Board of the Twentieth of
 ' *February*, 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we again
 ' desired,

desired, with all possible Earnestness, that the Provisions of all Sorts, expressed in those Three Letters of the Twentieth of *January*, and the Docquets therewith sent, might be hasten'd to us; and that the said Seven Thousand Eight Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Pounds Three Shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, might be speedily paid. And in those last Letters we again signified our miserable and unspeakable want of Victuals, Arms, Munition, Money, Shoes and other Necessaries; and that if the Supplies we moved for came not speedily, we were unavoidably in Danger to be as much devour'd by our own Wants, as by the Sword of the Rebels: And that our want of Corn was so much the more, in Regard that in confidence to be plentifully supplied forth of *England*, we caused great Destruction to be made of Corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more to the Destruction of Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

We also then signified the Necessity of sending a farther Supply of Powder and Match; and we declared that no Words could sufficiently express the greatness of the Danger we should incur, if our Supplies came not speedily: That the Plate brought in amounted not to One Thousand Two Hundred Pounds; a Sum very inconsiderable towards Relief of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th of *February*, 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that when our Means from thence fail'd, and our Credits could hold out no longer, we were contrain'd, towards Relief of the Army, to force from the Protestant Merchants here, as well *English* as Strangers, not only the Commodities they had brought hither, but the Native Commodities also, undertaking to them that they should receive Payment at *London*; which failing, that those that would supply us were dishearten'd, and durst not come hither with Commodities; wherefore we again by those Letters besought speedy Supply from thence; declaring that otherwise the Army and we must perish; and so far we were transported with Grief, in the consideration of the high Extremities of this

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Kingdom and Army, as we did by those Letters lament for the Shame and Dishonour which we then foresaw would reflect upon the *English* Nation, if then, after so long and often Forewarnings given by us to that Honourable House this Kingdom were lost, and that for want of Supplies from thence; wherein we then declared, that all the Comfort left us was, that we had done our Parts, and discharged our Duties to God, to his Majesty, and to all his Kingdoms, who must have borne their Parts with us in so heavy a Loss.

By Letters from this Board, dated the 23d of *March* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified that our Wants enforced us to distribute the Soldiers for their Victuals, in and through this City and Suburbs; which we signified could not long hold, considering the Poverty of this Place; and therefore to avoid utter Confusion, we did again and again beseech most earnestly, that above all things Victuals and Munition might be sent us speedily; and that Money, Arms, Cloaths, Shoes, and other Provisions, might also be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily, the Kingdom and his Majesty's Forces here might be thereby redeem'd out of Part of their Distresses; and we enabled, by the Blessing of God, to give his Majesty such an Account of this Kingdom, as would be for the Glory of the King our Master, and the Honour of the *English* Nation, in the subduing this horrid Rebellion; which by reason of our Wants, and in no other Respect, was then grown very terrible: And we did again call for the Provisions, moved for by our several former Letters of the Twentieth of *January*, and Twentieth of *February*, and for the Payment of the Seven Thousand Eight Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Pounds Three Shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, and those also which we expect from *London*; declaring, that unless those Supplies came, we should be disabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then next Spring, or the then succeeding Summer; and must undoubtedly put the Rebels into a Condition of prevailing against us, which we well believ'd the King

' Kingdom of *England* would never have permitted
' against so faithful Servants and valiant Soldiers, as
' his Majesty yet had here.

' By those Letters also we signified, that it was
' necessary that there should be here, at this Harbour
' of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at least Two
' Ships of good Strength; and that the Ships
' design'd for guarding the other Parts of the
' Coasts of this Kingdom should be hasten'd a-
' way with all possible Speed. By Letters from this
' Board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the Fourth
' of *April*, 1643, we represented again the unspeakable
' Miseries of the Officers and Soldiers, for
' want of Food; and that this City was then ap-
' parently found to be unable to help us, as it had
' formerly done; and repeated again, in as lively
' Terms as we could, the high Extremities fallen
' and encreasing upon us, declaring that we were
' enforced to see who had any thing yet left him,
' not taken from him, to help us; and that although
' there were but few such, and some poor Mer-
' chants, whom we had formerly by the Law of
' Necessity utterly undone, yet that we were for-
' ced to wrest their Commodities from them: That
' there were few here of our selves or others that
' had not felt their Parts in the enforced Rigour of
' our Proceedings towards preserving the Army;
' and we earnestly desired that his Majesty and the
' *English* Nation might not suffer so great, if not
' irrecoverable, Prejudice and Dishonour, as must
' unavoidably be the Consequence of our not being
' reliev'd suddainly, but that yet, although it were
' then even almost at the Point to be too late, Sup-
' plies of Victuals and Munition in present might
' be hasten'd hither to keep Life until the rest
' might follow; declaring also that there was no
' Victual in the Store, and that there would not
' be an Hundred Barrels of Powder left, when the
' out Garrisons, as they must then instantly have
' been, were supplied; and that the Residue of our
' Provisions must also come speedily after, or other-
' wise that *England* could not hope to secure *Ire-*
' *land*, or secure themselves against *Ireland*; but in
' the Loss of it, must look for such Enemies from

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hence, as would perpetually disturb the Peace of his Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England*; and among them, by Sea and Land, as we had often formerly represented thither; which Mischiefs we signified might yet be prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled from thence with Means to overcome this Rebellion.

We then also again renew'd our Requests for the Provisions mention'd in our Letters of the Twentieth of *January*, and for the Payment of the Seven Thousand Eight Hundred Fourscore and Thirteen Pounds Three Shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those we expected from *London*: We then also sent inclosed in our Letters to Mr. Speaker a Copy of Writing sign'd by sundry Officers of the Army, which was in a Stile threatening much Danger; whereby appear'd the high Necessity of hastening Treasure hither to pay them, and the rest of the Officers, and provide Victuals for the Soldiers. On the 10th of *April* 1643 we receiv'd Letters from Mr. Speaker, of the 17th of *March*, in Answer to our Letters of the 20th and 25th of *February*. Those Letters from Mr. Speaker advis'd Free Trade and Truck to be given to Merchants, by taking our Native Commodities, that cannot be manufactur'd here, for their Corn and other Victuals, and carrying them into *England*, or other Places not prohibited. And by our Letters directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the 22d of *April*, in Answer to his said Letters of the 17th of *March*, we made it appear that that Design could not hold to derive Benefit to this Army. By those our Letters we signified also, that the Necessities of the Army still press'd us by Degrees to break the Merchants here, by wresting their Commodities from them, upon promise of Satisfaction in *England*: That the failing of that Satisfaction in *England*, as it had undone them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the Service here: That we engaged the Word of this State to procure Payment to many others, out of the next Treasure that shall arrive forth of *England*, (which Courses, though very hard, did help us for a time.)

time,) that when those failed, we begun at our selves, then at others, then at all Fraternities and Corporations, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Vintners, and the like; then at all particular Persons observ'd to have any visible Substance, not being able to spare poor Men who (to gain a poor Living) made Profession, some of selling hot Waters, and some of cutting Tobacco: that in the end all other Means failing, we had recourse to the only Native Commodity, Hides; seizing on all that could be found, either on Ship-board, ready to be exported hence, (with Purpose in some of the Owners of them to return Victuals hither, which we were not able to wait for) or on Shore, prepared for Ship-board; and made use of them to get the Army in a few Days Bread, still hoping Provisions of Victuals might come to keep them alive; which did draw upon us infinite Clamour.

And by the said Letters we earnestly besought, that before we should be utterly swallowed up in the Confusion of Affairs, wherewith we were beset, the Destruction of this State, and Army, and Kingdom, being then no less feared to arise from the Army, though sent hither for their Preservation, than from the Fury of the Rebels, if that Honourable House would not look back into all our several Letters sent thither, which we then declared should for ever acquit us before God and the World; as having discharged our Duty to God, to his Majesty, and to this his Kingdom, in fully, and timely, and often representing thither the Evils then ready to seize upon this State and Army, and the Kingdom, and the Means of preventing them; yet at least they would be pleased to review our said several Letters of the 20th and 25th of February, of the 20th of January, 23d of March, and 4th of April. We then also signified that the Soldiers, pressed through Wants, attempted Tumults and Mutiny, plunder'd divers of the Inhabitants of this City, as well English, and Protestants, as others: That we apprehended those Disorders but beginnings of what we doubted would

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‘ would then shortly ensue, even the Ranſack of this
 ‘ City, if by Supplies forth of *England* it were not
 ‘ prevented: That then there would be no Refuge
 ‘ left, either for the Army, or other *English* here:
 ‘ That we were not able to ſend out the Soldiers, for
 ‘ want of Money to furniſh ordinary Neceſſities, and
 ‘ of Ammunition: Wherefore we then again ear-
 ‘ neſtly moved that ſome Means might be found
 ‘ for complying with our Deſires, in thoſe our ſeve-
 ‘ ral Letters expreſſed; certifying, that the State
 ‘ of Affairs here could not poſſibly admit the leaſt
 ‘ deferring; and that no Help was to be expected
 ‘ from hence; as we had often and fully in former
 ‘ Letters ſignified thither: That if it were not im-
 ‘ mediately ſupplied forth of *England* with Pow-
 ‘ der, we ſhould not be able to defend our ſelves,
 ‘ or offend the Rebels; and that above all things
 ‘ Munition, Money and Victuals, were of Neceſſity
 ‘ to be ſent in the firſt Place, and the other Provi-
 ‘ ſions to be ſent after, which alſo we certified
 ‘ moſt needful to be done with all poſſible Speed.

‘ By our Letters of the Sixth of *May*, 1643, di-
 ‘ rected to Mr. Speaker, we ſignified how neceſſary
 ‘ it was that the intended Eſta bliſhment ſhould
 ‘ be conſider’d there, and put into ſuch a Way as
 ‘ to be made Perfect, and receiving his Ma jeſty’s
 ‘ gracious Approbation, might be ſent hither;
 ‘ which we deſired to be haſten’d, that the Offi-
 ‘ cers who daily labour in the Publick Services
 ‘ might the better know what they are to have;
 ‘ of which Eſta bliſhment we have not yet had any
 ‘ Return. By our Letters to Mr. Speaker of the
 ‘ 11th of *May*, 1643, we ſignified, that although
 ‘ by Letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th Day
 ‘ of *March*, it was advertiſed hither that Six
 ‘ Weeks Proviſion of Victuals for each Province
 ‘ was in preparing, yet that it was not come; or
 ‘ if it was come, that it was a Supply far be-
 ‘ low that which was neceſſary to be then ſent
 ‘ hither. And we then again repeated the miſera-
 ‘ ble Condition of this Army, through want of all
 ‘ things, eſpecially Money, Victuals, Cloaths, Arms
 ‘ and Munition: That there was not above Forty
 ‘ Barrels of Powder in the Store; (a mean and
 ‘ incon-

inconsiderable quantity for this Army, on whom depends the Preservation of the Kingdom;) and we again desired, in Case of so High and Eminent Danger, and that with all possible Importunity, that a Course might be then instantly taken for hastening away Powder with all Speed; and that the other Provisions also of all Sorts, mention'd in our former several Letters of the 20th of *January*, 20th and 25th of *February*, the 23d of *March*, and the 4th and 22d of *April*, might be also hasten'd away; and that the Seven Thousand Eight Hundred and Fourscore and Thirteen Pounds Three Shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those we expected from *London*, might be paid.

By those Letters also we signified, that we could not but lament our Misfortune, and the Dishonour reflecting on the *English* Nation, that the Season of the Year should be so far enter'd into, and yet (notwithstanding all the Representations often and timely enough made thither of Affairs here) no Means put into our Power to make Use thereof in a vigorous Prosecution of the War; but instead thereof, notwithstanding all the Endeavour and Industry here used to prevent it, we then beheld ourselves sunk deeply into a Gulph of Confusion, and Distress of Affairs, being equally in Danger to be devour'd through our Wants, or to be destroy'd by the Rebels, for want of needful Habiliments of War to enable our Defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore we again pressed to be redeem'd from the terribleness of our Condition, by such timely Accessions of Supplies forth of *England* as were contain'd in our said former Dispatches.

By our Letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of *May*, 1643, we desired that 320 *l.* might be paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry Particulars necessary for the Chirurgeons of this Army; there being a great want thereof for the Cures of wounded Men. And then we sent and employed Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Knight, a Member

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ber of this Army, purposely to sollicite the Means of our Relief, that so we might omit nothing that we conceiv'd might conduce to the hastning of our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the 16th of *May*, then sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified that the Kingdom was then in more Danger than ever to be forced out of our Hands, for want of timely Supplies out of *England*; and we desired most earnestly that his dispatch might be hasten'd for our Preservation, that if it were possible the King and Kingdom of *England* might yet then be preserv'd from that irrecoverable Prejudice and Dishonour, which must necessarily accompany and follow the Loss of this Kingdom.

And here we may not omit to mention that we prevailed with divers Persons to advance Provisions to us at several times, to answer the crying Necessities of this Army; and to some we gave our Bills, in Nature of Bills of Exchange, and to others our own Bonds, undertaking repayment at *London* by the Parliament there; which we did in confidence to find ready Payment there accordingly: And we do not yet hear that those Bills of Exchange or Bonds, are yet paid there; but we find some of the Parties ready to Sue and Implead us here for those Debts, though contracted only for the Publick Service.

Which Proceeding of this Board from time to time we thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that we have discharged those Duties which we owe to his Majesty, and to the Trust of his Majesty's Affairs here, in representing thither fully, and timely, and often, the Wants and Extremities to which this Kingdom and Army were reduced, and the Means requisite to be sent for Relief and Preservation of Both; and yet in all that time, namely, from the said Twentieth Day of *January*, 1642, to the Tenth of *June*, 1643, which is the Day of the Date of our Letters, to which yours of the Fourth of *July* is an Answer, or from that time to this, there arriv'd here, as sent from

from the Parliament of *England*, towards the Relief of this Army, and for Maintenance of this War, but the Particulars following, viz. Forty Nine Thousand Two Hundred Forty Eight Pounds of Butter, Forty Nine Thousand Six Hundred Forty Nine Pounds of Cheese, Four Hundred Forty Seven Barrels and a half of Wheat and Rye, Three Hundred Threescore and Seven Barrels of Pease, and Three Hundred Fifty Six Barrels of Oates; also Five Hundred Suits of Cloaths, one Thousand Cassocks, Two Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighteen Caps, also Eight and Twenty Hundred Three Quarters and One Pound of Match; Thirty Eight Hundred Two Quarters and Nine Pound of Shot, and Three Hundred Threescore and Fourteen Barrels of Powder; of which Provisions of Munition there were Three Hundred and One and Forty Barrels of Powder, and Five Hundred Fifty Five Pound Two Quarters and Four and Twenty Pound of Match, which was the Munition we had contracted for here, and in the Way coming from *Holland* was intercepted at Sea, and carried to *Calais*, and afterwards set free there by the Mediation of his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament in *England*; but the Price thereof stands charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

This was not above a Week's Provision, or thereabouts, of Victuals for the Army in *Linster*; being Fifteen Regiments of Foot, and Twenty Two Troops of Horse, and Four Troops of Dragoons, besides Train of Artillery, and Four Hundred Fire-locks; so as certainly there was a Failure in supplying us, and that Failure was not occasion'd through any Neglect on our Parts, in not representing thither the Wants and Extremities endured by this Army; and the Means of their Supply is, as we conceive, very clear by those several Dispatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing that the Charge of this War was referred to and undertaken by the House of Parliament of *England*, and that by those Dispatches they fully understood the Condition of Affairs here, we offer it to any Man's Consideration, whether

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or no we had not just Cause to conceive, and accordingly to express in that Act of Council, that our Difficulties, which were necessary to be mention'd in that Act, were occasion'd through the Failure of the Houses of Parliament in England.

And whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament do believe we have sent Copies of our said Letters, and Act of Council to his Majesty, it is true, that we have so done; and therein acquitted our selves towards that Duty which we owe him; and had failed in our Duties if we had done otherwise. But how from that, as we conceive, Necessary and True Expression of ours in the said Act of Council, or from our sending a Copy thereof, and of our said Letters to his Majesty, there can be any just Cause to suspect (as your Letters seem to infer) there is such an Impious Design now on Foot, as your Letters mention, we confess we do not understand, or any Design at all, other than the needful settling here of the Imposition, in Nature of an Excise, in those our Letters and Act of Council mention'd; without which this Army could not have subsisted to this Time; and was pressed by the Committee from the Parliament here, but then avoided, our Hopes being then more, and our Necessities not so great as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your Letters that the Lords and Commons in Parliament there have done us the Right, by your said Letters, to signify that they cannot think we intended by that Expression to farther the Design in our Letters mention'd, so we hold it necessary to declare, that we neither have forgotten, nor can forget, the present Condition of that Kingdom; but we have a long time beheld, and still behold, and lament with bleeding Hearts, the woful Condition of that Kingdom, and how God's Hand is still stretched out against us, in those heavy Distractions there; yet we comfort our selves with Hope, that God, in Mercy to his Majesty, and

to his Kingdoms and People, will at length,
in his own good time, answer the Prayers and
Tears of us his Majesty's Servants, and many
Thousands of other his good Subjects there
and here, continually poured out for his Majesty,
and his Kingdom, in removing that heavy
Judgment, and settling Peace and Tranquility
there, to the Glory of God, the Honour
of his Majesty, and the joint Happiness of
all his Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Domi-
nions.

Nor have we forgotten the Supplies of all
Sorts Sent hither by the Parliament, but do
very well remember them. But we confess
we know not what Relief coming hither hath
been taken away, either by Sea or Land, or by
whom, or what Discouragement hath been given
them in return: Only we have heard, that
the Shipping, employed by the Rebels at *Wex-*
ford, did give them some Interruption at Sea;
and that was occasion'd by Neglect of Duty
in those who Commanded the Ships design'd
for the Guard of the Coasts of this Kingdom:
And the said Ship bound hither from *Holland*
with Munition, which we had contracted for
here, was intercepted at Sea, and carried to
Calais, and afterwards set free there, by
the Mediation of his Majesty and the Houses
of Parliament in *England*. And we find that
some Ships, sent hither it seems at first with
Provisions from *London*, and other Ships bound
hither with Provisions on private Mens Adven-
tures, were taken away even from this Harbour,
a few Days before the Cessation of Arms here,
as they were coming in, and carried to *Lever-*
pool by one Captain *Dansk*, a Person employed
by the Two Houses of Parliament there in the
Command of a Ship, and that Ship Command-
ed by *Dansk*, and other Ships employed at *Le-*
verpool, do now, and have a long time, staid on
that Side, laden with Provision of Victuals, Coals,
and other necessary Relief bound from thence
hitherto to be sold; which if they had arrived
here, would have brought great relief to this
Army.

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‘ Army, and the Inhabitants in this City, though
 ‘ on the Adventure of the Bringers; which we
 ‘ hold necessary to represent thither, to the end
 ‘ that their uncharitableness towards those poor
 ‘ Men that would Adventure hither to relieve
 ‘ us, and their Inhumanity towards this distressed
 ‘ Army, and City, and many of his Majesty’s
 ‘ Protestant Subjects therein, might appear so,
 ‘ as they, or others, may not presume hereafter to
 ‘ offend in that kind..

‘ And whereas you write, that we should not
 ‘ conceive that only the Charge of this War
 ‘ was referr’d to, and undertaken by the Parlia-
 ‘ ment, as if their Part were to be our Bankers,
 ‘ only to provide Money for us to spend, and
 ‘ were not to advise and direct the managing of the
 ‘ War; we confess we neither did, nor do, con-
 ‘ ceive the Parliament there to be Bankers for
 ‘ us; but did esteem them as those to whom the
 ‘ King our Master referr’d the Charge of this War,
 ‘ and to whom, as so entrusted by his Majesty,
 ‘ this Board from time to time, made Applica-
 ‘ tion; and if any Advice had come from them
 ‘ concerning the managing of the War, we should
 ‘ have endeavour’d to have made the best use
 ‘ thereof for the furtherance of his Majesty’s
 ‘ Service here. And here we hold it necessary to
 ‘ declare, that when we understood that his
 ‘ Majesty, at the humble desire of the Lords and
 ‘ Commons of Parliament in *England* had in *A-*
 ‘ *pril*, 1642, granted a Commission to some Mem-
 ‘ bers of Both Houses, for ordering and disposing
 ‘ all Matters there, for the Defence, Relief and
 ‘ Recovery of this Kingdom; and that his Ma-
 ‘ jesty Commanded all his Officers, Ministers, and
 ‘ Subjects of his Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, to be obedient, aiding and assisting to the
 ‘ said Commissioners in the due Execution of
 ‘ the said Commission; and that by his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Instructions, annexed to the said Com-
 ‘ mission, his Majesty gave it in Charge to those
 ‘ Commissioners, to advertise his Lieutenant of
 ‘ *Ireland*, the Council, and other Governours and
 ‘ Commanders here, what they conceiv’d to be
 ‘ needful

‘ needful for the Prosecution of the War in the
 ‘ best manner, for the Defence of this his King-
 ‘ dom, and Ease of the great Charges and Ex-
 ‘ pences, which, by Occasion of this Rebellion,
 ‘ lay upon his Loving Subjects of his Kingdom
 ‘ of *England*: We therefore, by our Letters of the
 ‘ Seventh of *June*, 1642, directed to those his
 ‘ Majesty’s Commissioners, besought, among other
 ‘ things, present and particular Direction for the
 ‘ Prosecution of the War, which yet we have
 ‘ not receiv’d: Only we had Advice from thence
 ‘ to send some Forces into *Connaught*, which was
 ‘ done; and for sending some Forces into *Munster*,
 ‘ which, by our Letters of the Thirteenth of
 ‘ *September*, 1642, to the Commissioners there, we
 ‘ signified was not possible for us to do, unless
 ‘ we were plentifully supplied of those things,
 ‘ whereof the Wants certified thither did then dis-
 ‘ able us.

‘ Concerning the Commission in your Letters
 ‘ mention’d, it was not to hear what the Rebels
 ‘ would say, or propound for their own Advantage,
 ‘ as your Letters mention; but his Majesty ha-
 ‘ ving receiv’d an humble Petition, in the Name
 ‘ of the Recusants of *Ireland*, desiring to be heard,
 ‘ his Majesty thought it not unjust or inconve-
 ‘ nient for him to receive from them what they
 ‘ could say unto him; to whom they insinuated
 ‘ that they would yet yield due Obedience. And
 ‘ therefore his Majesty, by his Commission under
 ‘ the Great Seal of *England*, (wherein he declared
 ‘ his extreme Detestation of the Odious Rebellion,
 ‘ which the Recusants of *Ireland* have without
 ‘ any Ground or Colour raised against him, his
 ‘ Crown and Dignity) Authorized some of his
 ‘ Ministers here to hear at large what the Peti-
 ‘ tioners should say, or propound, which his Majesty,
 ‘ by the said Commission, directed that the
 ‘ Petitioners, or the Principal of them, Authorized
 ‘ by the rest, should set down in writing under
 ‘ their Hands, and the Commissioners to send
 ‘ the same to his Majesty; whereupon his Majesty
 ‘ by the said Commission declared he would
 ‘ take such farther Consideration, as should be just,
 ‘ honourable

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‘honourable and fit for his Majesty: And that that Course gave not the least Interruption to the proceeding of the War, appears by this, that on that Eighteenth of *March*, (being in the time the Commissioners, Authorized by his Majesty, gave meeting to those of the other Side, upon that Commission) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, though one of those Commissioners, in his return from *Rosse* with about Two Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and Five Hundred Horse, of his Majesty’s Army, fought with the Army of the Rebels, consisting of about Six Thousand Foot, and Six Hundred and Fifty Horse, and obtain’d a Happy and Glorious Victory against them; and the Rebels Army being defeated, and wholly routed, and their Baggage and Munition seized on, his Majesty’s Forces lodged that Night where they had gained the Victory, as by former Letters of the Fourth of *April*, 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly signified thither: Which we thus repeat, to manifest that that Commission, or the Meeting thereupon, gave not any manner of Interruption to the proceeding of the War.

‘Concerning the Letters you mention, to divest the Committee of Both Houses there of an Authority given them by Both Houses, we remember that his Majesty, by his Letters of the Third of *February*, 1642, understanding that the then Justices and Council had admitted, without his Order or Knowledge, to sit in Council with them in this his Kingdom, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Reynolds*, and that thereby they were become so bold, as to take upon them to hear and debate of Matters Treated of in Council, his Majesty, by his said Letters, signified by his express Command, that they should not be permitted to sit, or be present any more at his Majesty’s Council Table here; but if they had any Business, his Majesty willed they should attend as others of their Quality: Which his Majesty’s Pleasure was humbly obey’d by his said Justices and Council, with that Duty and Omission which was due from them to his

‘Royal

Royal Commands. And as his Majesty, by his said Letters required, that if those Persons had any Business they should attend as others of their Quality; so if they had afterwards offer'd any Business at this Board, they should have been heard therein; which was also signified to them before their departure hence. And now, upon this Occasion, we having perused the Copies they deliver'd at this Board of the Order of Both Houses, dated the Sixth of October, 1642, and of their Instructions, do find indeed, that by the said Order the said Robert Reynolds, and Robert Goodwin, were to have the Credence, Power, and Esteem of a Committee, sent hither by the Advice and Authority of Both Houses of Parliament; and that, by the said Instructions, they were to be admitted to be present, and Vote at all Consultations concerning the War; yet there is nothing in the said Order or Instructions for admitting them to sit, or be present at his Majesty's Table; which is that which his Majesty by his said Letters required should not be permitted; which cannot be conceiv'd to be a divesting them of any Authority given them by Both Houses.

And as to the late Alteration of Government here, expressed in your Letters, although his Majesty in his high Wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those Governours, which he had placed here, which was no more than he, and his Royal Predecessors, had usually done in all Ages, as often as they thought fit, yet that made no Alteration in the Government; but it in all Times continued, and still continues the same, though in other Persons.

That part of your Letters which declares, that you are forbidden to tell us what Supplies of Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, were then in a good forwardness to be sent hither for the support of the Officers and Soldiers here, requires no Answer on our Parts, other than this Truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Concerning Mountross's Letters to

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‘ Colonel *Crawford*, we know of no Treason to be discover’d thereby; but for the Sea Captains in your Letters mention’d, it is certain that their Neglects and Misdeeds deserve Punishment, which we desire they may find rather to their Correction than to their Ruin.

‘ Thus we have given Answer to those parts of your Letters which we conceiv’d concern’d us; whereby we Hope Both Houses of Parliament there will now remain satisfied, as in the Necessity and Justice of our Actions, so in the Truth and Candour of our Intentions, in those Particulars to which your said Letters seem to take Exception. And so we remain,

From His Majesty’s Castle of Dublin, Oct. 28. 1643.

‘ Your Lordships very loving Friends,

*Jc. Borlase.
La. Dublin.
Ant. Midence.
Geo. Shurley.
Fr. Willoughby.
Hen. Tichborne.
Ormond.
Ed. Brabazon.*

*Ger. Lowther.
Tho. Lucas.
G. Wentworth.
Rich. Bolton, Canc.
Roscommon.
Char. Lambert.
Tho. Rotherham.
Ja. Ware.*

The unhappy Transactions of England, Scotland and Ireland this Year, through our Unnatural and Fatal Divisions and a most Cruel Civil War, the greatest Curse that can befall a Country, have been so many, and interwoven with such Variety of Adventures, that we had almost totally forgot Foreign Affairs: But to resume the Thread of our History, the last and most remarkable Action performed by *Tortenson*, General of the *Swedes* in Germany, who still prosecuted their War there, and is accounted for in the Preceding Volume, was the taking of *Leipsick*. The same General, in the beginning of this Year sat down before *Friberg*, and notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance made by the besieged, had brought them to the last Extremity, when *Picolomini* came up with

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Warlike
Occurrences
of the
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with 15000 Men to relieve the Place; *Torstenfon*, would have given them Battle but supposing the Enemy would not quit that Advantageous Post, and finding there was no more Forage near the Place, he marched off and incamped on the *Elb*, near *Strecklen*, to observe the Enemies Motion; but at last passing that River, he marched towards *Banzen* in *Lusatia*, and in his Way routed *Bryan* at *Saffienberg*, who came to Charge the *Swedes* with Two Thousand Horse, and then went to *Bohemia*, where *Galles* had receiv'd the Command of the Imperial Army, to the great Satisfaction of the *Swedes*, who had experienced he usually took such Methods as very often destroyed his Army. But tho' he propos'd to hinder the *Swedes* from entering *Moravia*, yet *Torstenfon* having given him the slip, entred into that Province and took divers Places: *Galis* at last posted himself over against him near *Bruis*, so that the Two Armies continued for a time in sight of one another; in the mean while Three *Swedish* Regiments, who were quartered in the Mountainous Parts, not keeping good Guard, were severely handled by a small Number of *Imperialists*. But on the other Hand, *Torstenfon* having surpriz'd Count *Bachcim*, who was Detach'd to *Silesia* with 1500 Horse, entirely routed them: But for the rest he could not bring the Enemy at all to a general Battel. After the *Swedish* Troops had sufficiently wasted *Moravia*, during the Summer, *Torstenfon* receiv'd Orders from the Regency of *Sweden* to pass *In-cognito* into *Alsatia*. To which purpose having provided *Olmütz*, *Neustad*, and *Eulenberg*, with all Necessaries, he return'd to *Silesia*, and encamp'd near *Little-Glogauw*, to see if the Enemy had any Mind to hazard a Battle: But *Gallas* had not the least design to Fight, which oblig'd *Torstenfon* to advance farther: But he so often chang'd his Road, and spread abroad so many false reports, that it was impossible to penetrate into his design. The *Imperialists* follow'd him to *Lusatia*, and retook *Luben*, *Lemberg*, and *Zittaw*, after which they return'd to their Winter Quarters.

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Upon which *Torstenſon* order'd a Bridge to be made over the *Elbe* near *Lirga*, pretending to paſs over into *Miſnia*, in order to enter into the *Higher-Palatinate* and *Bavaria*, where they were already Alarm'd upon the noiſe of his marching. But he always advanced, falling ſtill lower, till he arriv'd at *Havelberg*, where he diſcover'd his Deſign to the Officers of his Army, who rejoic'd at it; and at laſt enter'd into *Holfatia*, and put the whole Country under Water. The ſame Year *Koningsmark* ſignaliz'd himſelf on ſeveral Occaſions. When General *Torſtenſon* enter'd into *Bohemia*, he left a Detachment of his Troops, with which *Koningsmark* having made an Iruption into *Miſnia*, and the Country of *Franken*, put a vaſt Track of Ground, even to the *Rhine*, under Contribution. After which he return'd by the Countries of *Falſden* and *Turingia* into *Lower-Saxony*, where he ſurpriz'd *Hailberſtad*, and took the Towns of *Sladen* and *Oſternick*; but at length he was oblig'd to march with all diligence to the *Lower-Pomerania*, where *John Erneſt Crachau* had made an Invaſion by the Way of *Poland* with 3000 Horſe and Dragoons; by which Means he had rais'd a great Tumult in that Province, and encamp'd near *Belgard*: But before he had time to fortify himſelf, *Koningsmark* fell upon him unexpectedly, retook the Places where he had put Garriſons, and beat his Parties in ſeveral Rencounters. *Crackow* having but very little Forrage in his Camp, left his Baggage behind, and marching from *Belgard*, retir'd as quietly as poſſible into *Poland*, breaking down all the Bridges as he paſſ'd over, and ſo ſav'd himſelf out of the Hands of *Koningsmark*, who ſtill follow'd them cloſe, while he could come within Two League of them. Thus this Diverſion, which the *Imperialiſts* had built ſuch Hopes on, came to nothing. The ſame Year *Eirek Ulſpain*, Governor of *Weimar*, took the Town of *Demitz*. But on the other Hand, *Guebria* with the *Weimar* Troops were not very unſucceſſful; for after they had ranged up and down for ſome time through *Suabia*; they did nothing remarkable, but was oblig'd to repaſs the *Rhine*, and re-

General
Torſten-
ſon enters
Holfatia.

General
Konings-
mark's
Vicar.

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tire into *Alsatia*, whither the *Bavarians* pursued them. However, having receiv'd a Reinforcement of some Thousand Men from *France*, *Guebrian* again repass'd the *Rhine*, and took the Town of *Retueil*: which cost him very dear, both because his Army, which had consisted of 15000 Men, was reduc'd to Ten; and he himself dy'd of a Wound which he receiv'd at this Siege. After which his Troops went to Quarters in the Country of *Dulinga*, and the circumjacent Places where being Attack'd unexpectedly by the *Bavarians*, the greatest Part were cut in pieces, and several taken Prisoners; the rest made their escape by the Way of *Lauffenburg* to *Suntgau* in the *Higher Alsatia*. At length *Turenne* came from *France* with great Sums of Money to make new Levies. This Defeat was very prejudicial to the *Swedes*; the *Imperialists* having an Opportunity now to imploy all their Arms against them; tho', on the other Hand, they had the Advantage of bringing over *Ragotzi* Prince of *Transilvania* to their side; to which the Prince was of himself inclinable. But the *Imperialists* hinder'd him from Attacking *Silesia* and *Moravia*, when the *Swedes* were buried in *Holsatia* against the *Danes*. All the World was surpriz'd at this Attempt of the *Swedes*; and not few look'd upon it as an Act of great Rashness, that being already engaged in a troublesome War with a Potent Enemy, they should create another to themselves without any Necessity. But after all, 'twas Necessity that put them upon this Resolution: For the *Danes* had for a long time laid down several Projects in prejudice of the *Swedes*, as the *Swedish* Authors say, and always endeavour'd to make them lose in *Germany* the Advantages they had got by Force of Arms. And 'twas with this Intent that the King of *Denmark* offer'd his Mediation between the Emperor and the Crown of *Sweden*, that he might totally exclude the *Swedes* from *Germany*. Besides, he secretly stole away *Marca Eleanora*, the Queen *Dowager*, to Affront the *Swedes*. To which may be added, that a little before he laid new Impolls at *Ruden*, and order'd that all the Merchandise which should be transported from *Sweden* into *Pomerania*, should pay

General
Guebrian
beaten and
kill'd.

Swedes
makes War
with *Denmark*.

1643. Toll in their Passage. In fine, he was jealous to the last Degree to see the Trade of *Sweden* so flourishing: And therefore, that he might ruin their Trade, or bring them to his Discretion, he appointed several Imposts to be paid by such as pass'd the *Sound*, and were put to continual trouble by his Commissioners, and often had a Part of their Goods Confiscated. These Disorders and Violences committed in the *Sound* went so far, that the *Swedes* could no longer bear with them; and tho' frequent Complaints were made at Court, instead of Redress they received nothing but Scorn. At length it was resolv'd in *Sweden* to repel all these Outrages by Force of Arms, and at the same time to rid themselves of an unjust Mediator, who by all the the Treaties of Peace, had only perplex'd the Affairs of *Sweden*. The greatest difficulty was to put this Design in Execution before it made any Noise, to prevent, by this Means, their making Preparations for War. And, in effect, the thing succeeded so well, that after it was deliberated for several Days in Council in the Month of *March*, and that all necessary Orders were given, yet the *Danish* Minister, who was then at *Stockholm*, had not the least knowledge of it; neither was it thought fit to communicate the Design either to *France* or *Holland*. The Resolution which they had taken went so far, that it was determin'd, that in Case of Necessity they should abandon *Pomerania*, and demand Satisfaction for it from the *Danes*, whom they hop'd to reduce in a little time, provided the Winter was favourable to their undertaking. And 'tis very probable they had succeeded, if General *Torsten* could have pass'd into Isle of *Funbne*, by the *Little Belt*; and if *Gustavus Horn* could have enter'd into the Isle of *Seeland*, and the Streights of the *Sound*. In short, the only thing that sav'd *Denmark* was, that the Ice was not strong enough: To which, however, we may add, the undaunted Courage of the King, who, notwithstanding his Grey Hairs, was never shaken at any danger.

We terminated the preceding Year in *France* with the Death of the great Cardinal *Richlieu*, who

who was in a short time succeeded in the Prime Ministry by *Mazarine*, and was said to have been earnestly recommended to King *Lewis* by *Richlieu*, as the fittest Person in the Kingdom for so high a Station; we shall now come to close this King's Reign, who did not survive his Favourite *Richlieu* many Months. He languished away continually, and was more uneasy by reason of the tender Age of his Son; so that he was exercised with many difficult Thoughts about the Direction of his Affairs; and the Principal Ministers, the Reliques of *Richlieu's* Faction, were no less troubled, as fearing the Queen coming to be Regent, should for former Disgusts be revenged upon them. Wherefore *Mazarine*, *Bottillier*, and his Son *Chavigny*, endeavoured to possess the King with the Danger to which he exposed the Crown, and the Heir of it, if the Government should fall to the Queen, who was not only unexperienced in Affairs, but offended by past ill usage, and of a Foreign Nation, nay, an Enemy, towards whom she had not at all lost Inclination and Affection. Nor did this Counsel succeed ill, for *Lewis* by his Will left to his Wife the Name of Regent, but ^{R. Lewis} the Power to the Ministers. To his Brother he ^{his Will} committed the Lieutenantcy of the Crown; to *Conde* the Chief Place in Council, but subordinate to *Mazarine* he made Prime Minister, and for Counsellors added *Saquier*, *Bottillier* and *Chavigny*, with a Proviso that they should not be excluded but for Crimes, or by Death. By this Council with Majority of Voices, the most arduous Affairs were to be decided, Military and Civil Offices dispensed, and as Occasion was, the Members of the Counsel it self to be supplied. As for the conferring of Ecclesiastical Benefices, he obliged the Queen to follow Cardinal *Mazarine's* Judgement; he also required that *Chateauneuf* the Keeper of the Seals, and the Dutcheß of *Chevreuse*, should not be permitted to return to the Kingdom; and as to other Exiles and Prisoners, he left them to the Pleasure of the Council: This will was signed and sworn to by the Queen and Princes, and verified by the Parliament. The Queen having

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Dies.

ving no Party, could not oppose it, tho' *Beaufort* declared in her Favour; and that at *St. Germain*, where the King lay Sick, Cabals were held in order to the forming of Factions. But amidst these, and all the Commotions of Affections and Discourses, the King breathed his last on the 10th of May, in the 43d Year of his Age, and having just upon that Day compleated the 33d of his Reign. He was a Prince of a comely and middle-sized Proportion, of a spare but good Make; and tho' not robust, yet active: His Complexion was soft tho' his Hair was black, which turned grey before he saw Thirty: Seldom came any Humidity from his Mouth or Nostrils; neither was he subject to sweat, tho' his Exercises were sometimes very violent. *Lewis* having by his Arms enlarged the Power, Renown and Majesty of his Kingdom, had certainly been numbered among the Princes of greatest Fame, if the Glory of *Richlieu* had not interposed, to whom the World ascribed the Counsel and Success; but he lived and died without being capable of defending himself against the Arts of Favourites; he was indeed adorned with some good Virtues, but suffer'd the exceeding great Defects of his Ministers; tho' he disarmed the Reformed in *France*, yet he countenanced and promoted those of that Religion abroad: He was sparing in his Diet, Clothing, and except it were in Hunting, abstained from all Sorts of Pleasures; abandoned the Wealth of his People as a Prey to the Profusions of his Favourites. With the Title of *Just* he covered many severe Examples, filled the *Bastile* often with innocent People, and managed the Sword of the Executioner to the private Revenge of his Confidants. His Brother was a Fugitive, and his Mother forced to fly; if then the Greatness of the Name of *Richlieu* in Famous Acts obscured the Glory of K. *Lewis*, it also rescued him from many Calumnies, saving only in this, that being Jealous and Avaritious of his own Authority towards his Kindred, he was superfluously Prodigal of it to his Ministers.

Lewis

Lewis XIV. Who had not yet compleated the Fifth Year of his Age, assumed the Name of King, and thereupon great Revolts were foretold, while to the Intestine Confusion of the Kingdom, which the Regency of a *Spanish* Woman, the Novelty of Government, the Affections of Ministers, and the Pretensions and Disguits of Malecontents pointed out, Foreign Forces were quickly added: And the *Spanish* Army under *Melo*, which consisted of 17000 Foot, and 7 or 8000 Horse, appeared on the Frontiers, to give Invitation and Incouragement to those who should affect Novelties. He having, during the late King's Sickness, waited some Days without attempting any thing, resolved at last to invade *France*, the more powerfully to promote Disturbances, with an assured Hope of finding little Resistance: Whereupon the Army, augmented with some additional Forces, having entred into *Tirafche*, and laying many Places wast with Fire and Sword, he laid Siege to *Rocroy*, a little Place on the Frontiers of *Champagne*; which alone he thought might hinder his March as far as *Rheims*, and from thence perhaps to *Paris*. But by this Action, Heaven seemed to shew it self partial in favour of *France*; for if *Melo* retarding his March, had maintained the Credit of his Army, or if his Design in taking the Place had succeeded, he might have been able to advance towards *Paris*, to Countenance those that were for him, and to put the rest in Confusion; and there is not much doubt to be made, but that out of the Sepulchre of *K. Lewis* would have been raised the Fortune of the *Spanish* Crown.

The Duke of *Enghien*, the Prince of *Conde's* Son, who was scarce out of his Childhood, commanded the *French* Army in those Parts, being assisted by the Marechal de la *Hospital* and *M. Cassignon*, and upon notice of the Siege, speedily drew together as many Troops as he could, which amounted to no more than 14000 Foot and 6000 Horse, and came near the Place scituate in a Plain, and environed with low Ground and Woods. Now *Melo* being perswaded he could have

Siege of
Rocroy by
the Spaniards.

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Battle of
Rocroy.

have taken it with Ease, erected only Five Bastions, which were yet unfinished, with some Outworks, and a scant Garrison, but thought a Line of Circumvallation needless; this gave *Gassion* an Opportunity to throw into the Place, through the midst of his Enemies Battalions, some Reinforcements, with which the Garrison being strengthened, made a Salley, and recovering a Half Moon, gave time for the main Army to come up; with which the Duke thereupon arrived with so much Resolution, as to discover he would not refuse a Battel. *Melo* superior in Forces, rejoiced already with an Assurance of Victory; and therefore removing from the Siege to range himself in order of Battle, he lost an exceeding great Advantage by so doing: For *Engbien* being not able to disengage the Army so soon from certain narrow Passages between the Wood and the Marsh Grounds, was by the Night overtaken with his Troops divided; but *Melo* did not care to attack him, pretending to stay for a Reinforcement under the Command of General *Bech*, who was coming with 4000 Men to overcome at one Blow not only part but all the Enemy. On the other Hand, the *French* during the Night quickly reunited themselves; and the General receiving Advice of the King's Death, with Orders not to hazard a Battel in that Conjunction, kept it secret, that they might not dispirit their own Men, or put more confidence in the Enemy, since they found themselves so far advanced, that they could not retire either with Safety or Honour. Here *Gassion* with the Right Wing pitched upon such an Advantageous Post, as that he could conveniently Attack the *Spaniards* in Flank; while *Melo* not to stay any longer for *Bech*, readily accepted the Engagement, and in the beginning had the Success to rout and pursue all the Left Wing, with the gaining of Eight Pieces of Cannon, the taking of *Senneterre* Prisoner, and the wounding of *Monsieur del Hospital*. But for all this, *Engbien* with undaunted Courage acted his Part in the Action, and suggesting to himself, if not from Experience, at least from his Birth, the Remembrances

Remembrances and Provocations of Glory, he restored the broken Troops to Courage and Order, and led on again those that were more entire to the Fight; while *Gassion* shocked the Left Wing of the *Spaniards* in such a manner that the Cavalry could not withstand him; their General *Albuquerque* being the first of them that betook himself to Flight, wherein he was easily followed by the rest; upon this *Gassion* fell on the Rear of the Left Wing of the *Spaniards*, who being hitherto Victorious, and pursuing their Advantage, had scarce been put a little to the Stop by *Sciro*, who seasonably with a Body of Reserve was moving to encounter it, but suddenly seeing the Attack from the Rear, they turned off, and at last totally gave way. The Foot, which consisted of the best *Italian* and *Spanish* Troops, resisted with Admirable Courage as long as they were able; *de Fontaine*, their General, having by the Gout the use of his Feet taken from him, died in a Chair at the Head of the Battalions with a great many Brave Soldiers, whose Bodies were seen lying in Ranks, so immoveably had they kept their Stations. Divers indeed fled, of which *Melo* himself proved at last to be one; but Five other Squadrons closing themselves together, withstood a long time the Charge of *Gassion*, resolving not to part with their Lives but at a dear Rate. However, being at length hemmed in on all Sides by the *French*, who at last were bringing Cannon to force them, they gave up their Arms. The Prisoners amounted to 8000, which with the Cannon, Baggage, and a great Number of Colours, remained in the Power of the *French*, who found not above 2000 wanting of their Number. Hereupon *Enghien*, animated with the Battel, and flush'd with Victory, fell into the Enemies Country, not only recompensing with Burning the Mischief done in the *Tirafche*, but hoping in that Consternation of Minds for some great Thionville Revolt; but finding nothing of that like to happen, he laid Siege to *Thionville*, which after divers taken by Bloody Rencounters was surrendered, and soon after *Enghien*. *Sirk* ran the same Fate.

The

*Acts of the
Queen-Regent.*

The Queen Regent in the mean time, after her Husband's Decease, went with her Two Sons from *St. Germain's* to *Paris*, amidst long Ranks of the People in Arms; and entring with the new King into the Parliament, where *Orleans* and *Conde* assisted, she there delivered her Mind rather with Tears than Words, and shewing the Sons as Pledges of her Affection and the Kingdom's Felicity, referr'd herself to the late King's Disposition of the Regency. *Orleans* and *Conde* declaring they had only given their Consent, that they might not defile with Reluctancy and Disgusts the Repose of the King's last Breath. The Will indeed to many of the Members of the Parliament seemed not consonant, and to be received; and the same being at last abolished with unanimous Votes, they decreed the Regency to the Queen-Mother alone, with Absolute Power; but for the obtaining the Consent of the Two forementioned Princes, it was before concerted the Queen should confirm them in the Charges the King had conferr'd upon them, and that the same Ministers should be continued in the Council. Now the Queen, as the first Act of her Authority, and in order to the avoiding of intestine Broils, recalled the Exiled, and set the *Bastile* open; and to gain Applause bestow'd Charges and Gifts upon those she knew she could not wish better to; at the same time publishing that her Desire was during her Regency, to extert all the Virtues, but none of the Defects, of the past Government. As for the Princes, who were Confederates and Friends to *France*, she declared she would persevere in the Alliances and Affections of her deceased Husband; but for Ministers in the Council, it quickly appeared, that she desired to bring into it Persons that were more in her Confidence; they were indeed but few, and had outlived the Prosecutions of *Richlieu*, as being neglected rather than preserved, by reason of the Opinion of their mean Ability. However the other Ministers beginning now to apprehend a Change, the Chancellor, to support him-

himself, employed as much Money as he could, and all he could, and all the Artifice he was capable of for the gaining of those, who being most conversant with the Queen, should on all Occasions remonstrate to her his Ability in Employments, and the Faculty with which he suffered himself without reserve to be subjected to the Supreme Will of the Government; a Quality not to be despised in a new Regency.

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Changes at Court.

Now *Bottillier* having the Keys of the Treasury, as his Son managed the Pen for Secrets of State, but withal by such eminent Charge and immense Riches provoked the Hatred of the People, and Envy of the Court, he judged it would be proper for the Preservation of the rest to give up the Superintendency, which the Queen divided between *Baillet* her Chancellor, and *d' Avo*: And a while after, for all this Pace of the Father, *Chavigny*, under the Title of Sale, was forced to yield up the Office of Secretary of State to the Count *de Brienne*, a Person of exemplary Integrity, and one of the Queen's oldest Servants. To the Charge of Prime-Minister, a Matter as difficult to be disposed of as to be undertaken, because Confidence and Capacity were requisite in an equal Degree, she designed the Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had been kept from Court as long as *Richlieu* lived: But this Person, tho' at first he was believed to be a Man of Probity and Ability, yet was no sooner come to Court, but in the Obscurity of so many Affairs and Interests he found a new and obscure Element, and passing from a private to a publick Life, seemed like a River, which in its own Channel running clear and quiet, when it enters into the Sea becomes troubled and fluctuant: He erred at first against his own Fortune, by not removing *Mazarine* from Court, as thinking he might detain him at his Pleasure to be informed and instructed by him. But he quickly came to understand that the Excellency of Parts will generally keep the Predominancy in all Things and Places; for the Cardinal, tho' in this Eclipse of Fortune he were abandoned by all those who but a little before worshiped him, was not amazed; but pretending to accommodate himself to the Times,

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Times, with civil and submissive Carriage moved Compassion and Affections. Leaving the Bishop to lose himself under the weight of Affairs, or grow vain with the Ambition of the Place; it is certain that all those who negotiated with him were dissatisfied with his Want of Experience; but above all, the Ministers of the *Italian* League were offended with him, for having with his being introduced into Favour, assumed the Ambition of adorning himself with the Purple. The King having now obtained him a Cardinal's Cap, he shewed himself more partial to the Court of *Rome*. Now *Mazarine* seeing him totter, cunningly began to absent himself from Council, alledging, that being excluded from his former Post, he could no more appear there; whereupon the Government grew quickly sensible of the Weakness and Change of the Ministry; and the Queen a greater Novice in Business than all, was much unresolved upon it.

It's not to be doubted but there appeared in the Queen some Inclination towards the Cardinal, at which *Beauvais* growing jealous, he engaged as many as he could, who hoped to have a great share in his Government, to form a Party to discard him; but perceiving at last he was not able to do it alone, it was published, that the Duke of *Beaufort* would take upon him to kill the Cardinal, and Papers with sharp Invectives were scattered in the Apartments and private Cabinets of the Court. The Queen moved at it, caused the Duke to be seized, and commanded the Bishop to retire to his See: The Dukes of *Vendosme* and *Merceur*, *Beaufort's* Father and Brother, went out of *Paris*, and *Madam de Chevreuse* left it also. Thus the Court changing its Face in a Moment, gave *Mazarine* Opportunity to establish himself: For want of other Capacities, and by the Means of those who took his Part, he caused it to be divulged, that the Quality of a Stranger ought not to prejudice him, but was rather to be judged commodious for the Publick Good, he being neither tied to the Factions of the Princes, nor exposed to the Hatred of the Great Ones;

Ones; that the Natives had Kindred, Riches and Parties, in which they were confident either to find Excuses for the Overights, or Pardon for their Faults; that himself being destitute of all Protection, could not Hope for Support but in his Innocency; that he willingly exposed himself to the Hatred of the Turbulent. being always willing to deliver the Lovers of Peace out of Troubles.

All People applauded these Conceptions, some out of a Design to bespeak his Favour, and to Advance him, while others intended thereby to expose him to the Publick Hatred, and Ruin him; and many not being able to bear the Superiority of Equals, rather inclin'd to a Stranger. Thus the Cardinal was suddenly set in the height of Authority, which *Richlieu* in the Progress of many Years, and with so many Difficulties scarce could arrive to. Orleans weary of his Banishments and former Troubles, and being of a Genius otherwise tractable, grew now satisfied with the Posture wherein he was; and being desirous to be employed in the Armies, was pleased with the Submissions and Flatteries of *Mazarine*, who supplied him with Money, and designed him the next Year for the Command of the Army in *Flanders*. Then for *Conde*, he growing Sedate after the doubtfulness of the Regency, and intent upon heaping up Wealth, and consequently a Friend to Favourites, from whom he received Advantage, was at present content with his Condition; the Cardinal serving him to obtain of the Queen all that which his Interests suggested him to pretend to: His Brave Son *Enghien*, who had happily tasted the first Glory of War, breathing nothing but a Martial Genius, professed himself bound to the new Minister, who designing him for the Command of an Army, furnished him also with those Means of his Subsistence, which his Father's Patrimony sparingly dispenced unto him. For the rest, the great Ones finding themselves without Places, and without Governments, and the People exhausted both in their Wealth and Blood, they were so far from opposing, that all rather applauded the Cardinal, who in this beginning made it his Glory not to appropriate to himself Riches,

The Disposition of the Princes.

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Governments or Honours, but Labour and Töil only with inflexible Rigour to keep his Kindred far distant, to refuse the Queen's Favours and Benefits, and above all, trusting in his Fidelity, and the Services which he propos'd to render to the Crown, to detest any Defence or Guards, but remained content with his own House, and the Modesty of a Frugal Family. These were the Initiations of the Cardinal's Ministry, where continually increasing in Favour, he was notwithstanding acceptable to all: But Strangers could not believe the Ministry durable, or the Peace of the Kingdom lasting; yet it quickly appeared that it was confirm'd, nay, rather increased in Dominion and Glory, the Power and Authority being so enlarg'd, that the Change of the Minister, the King's Death, the Government of a Child, and the Direction of a Stranger, had no Power at all to shake it. The Queen in these Beginnings shewed an Inclination to Peace; and the Cardinal, to keep the People contented with those Hopes, caused Passports to be dispatch'd for the Ministers of *Spain*, and was contented a Beginning should be given to the Meetings, for which the Pope deputed the Bishop of *Nardo* as his Nuncio to *Cologne*; the *Venetians* on their Part about the same time dispatching *Contarini* thither. But the *French* on their Part thinking the best Way for Peace was to be ready for a War, they would first agree with the States and the Prince of *Orange* how to imploy their Arms that Year; at which the *Spaniards* quarrell'd, and indeed there seem'd to be no great Dispositions as yet in any of the Parties to go sincerely to Work about the intended Peace.

But leaving this Treaty for a few Moments, and but just to mention, that besides *Munster*, the City of *Osnabrug* was deputed for a Rendezvous for the Agents of the Protestant Princes and States, to the end that they might there discuss between themselves the Interests of the Crown of *Swedeland*, and of the Princes of their Religion, as was desired by the *Swedes*, in point of Precedency, especially since the Pope's Agents did interpose at *Munster*, we are to observe, that before the Conclusion of this

this Year, the *Spaniards*, besides the Losses already mentioned, lost *Trino* and *Pondestre* in *Italy*, and the Duke of *Breze* overcame the *Spanish* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and took Six Ships from them.

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It remains now, we should come to the War between the *Spaniards* and *Portugal*, of which we have before given some Account, as well as of the Grand Revolution in the last of these Countries.

The Hatred the Two Nations bore to one another was too great to suffer them to lye still: Though the Season was not yet fit for Action, the Frontiers were never free from Incursions. *D. Sancho Manuel*, a *Portuguese* Major General, thinking no Difficulties too great to be surmounted, marched out with 150 Horse, judging that a sufficient Number to plunder the Town of *Fituro* in *Castile*, Four Leagues from the Frontiers of *Portugal*. His Design being divulg'd, and the *Spaniards* believing his Forces greater than they were, they abandoned the Town, leaving it to be ransacked by the Soldiers without the least Opposition. But the Retreat proved not without Danger, for the *Spaniards* of the neighbouring Places assembling to the Number of 200 Horse, Charged them before they could recover their own Frontiers, and that with such Resolution, that the *Portuguese* were at first forced to give Ground. But having quitted all the Booty which encumbred them, they rallied, and giving a fresh Charge, worsted those by whom before they had been drove. Night coming on put an end to the Action. The Number of Dead was equal, and the Victory had been dubious, but that the *Spaniards* got away in the Dark, leaving the Booty and the Field to the *Portuguese*. This small Action was the cause of a greater, for the *Marque's de Elecha*, General of the *Spanish* Horse, resolving to revenge that Loss, entred *Portugal* with 500 Horse and 300 Musketiers, surprized the Town of *Sabugal* fired 13 Houses, killed some of the Inhabitants he found in Arms, and drove away all the Cattle he found. Not content with this, he returned by the Way of *Alfayates* to Brave the Garrison, but this Boldness cost him Dear. *Ferdinand Tellez de Mene*,

Di-ers
Actions be-
tween the
Spaniards
and Portu-
guese.

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zes, the General, who was within Two Leagues of that Place, gathering 200 Horse and Three Companies of Foot, sent to the Governour of *Alfayates* to join him with the Best Men he had, which was accordingly performed; that Governour bringing with him 200 Men. With this Force they pursued the *Spaniards*, and having overtaken, fell upon them: The Fight was Bravely maintained, for the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* gave Three several Charges in such a manner, that it was not discernable who had the better: Being now fallen in after the Fire with Sword in Hand, and the Marquis *de Elecha*, the *Spanish* General, and *D. Francis de Erasso*, who was next in Command to him, being both Slain, the Victory began to incline to the *Portuguese*, for the *Spaniards* dismayed at the Loss of their Commanders fled, leaving the Field strewn with Dead Bodies, Arms and Plunder, which they quitted to save their Lives. The *Portuguese* were forward enough to have pursued them, but *Ferdinand Tellez* held them in, fearing to fall into some Ambush, being to pass before the Enemy. The Duke of *Alva's* Enterprize redounded more to the Honour of the *Spaniards*. He being desirous of doing something considerable in *Portugal*, drew together 8000 Foot and 900 Horse, with which he entred *Portugal*, Burnt Four open Towns, put many of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and finding a vigorous Resistance at *Eschallam*, which Place he had caused to be Attacked at the same time, he retired again, to avoid meeting all the Troops of the Frontiers drawn together to oppose him.

It was not only the Success on the Frontiers that rendred the King of *Portugal* Fortunate. Two Jesuits being Procurators for the Provinces of *Cochin* and *Coa* in *India*, arriving at this time, brought him an account how well-affected the People in those distant Provinces were to his Interest. This happy News was a great Addition to the Joy of his Success in War, for they assured him that most of those *Eastern* Provinces had joined in League with his Vice-Roy, as soon as they understood he was restored to the Crown of his Ancestors.

cestors. The King, who omitted nothing that might encourage his Faithful Servants, and gain him new Friends, sent away Two Gallions and Six other Vessels, with all necessaries to the former, and with Assurances to the latter, that they should always find in him a Brotherly Return of Affection, as long as they continued their Friendship towards him.

In the mean time *Francis de Lucena*, Secretary of State ever since the Revolution, had upon Complaints preferred against him by his Enemies, been committed Prisoner to the Castle of St. *Julian*, but nothing being proved against him, after a long Imprisonment, the King had resolved to restore him to his Honour, when an unfortunate Accident on a sudden brought him to an untimely End. The Count *de Obidos*, General of the Province of *Alentejo*, happened to take a Fellow coming from *Badajoz*, who proved to be Servant to *Peter Bonete*, Adjutant to the Major General. Upon Examination this Man declared that his Master held Correspondence with the *Spaniards*, and he being thereupon Apprehended, and put upon the Rack, made a Confession, which at his Death he declared to be false; but wherein he accused *D. Joseph de Meneses*, Governour of Fort St. *Julian*, of a Delinquency of betraying it to the *Spaniards*, *Francis de Lucena*, the Secretary, of holding Correspondence with them, and several others of joining with them in these Treasonable Practices. All the Persons Accused being put to the Torture, some of them to the last denied their Knowledge of any such Treason, but others, to be eased of their Misery, owned all that was laid to their Charge. Upon this weak Evidence several were put to Death. *D. Joseph de Meneses* endured the Rack, constantly denying it, and being cured, the King offered him again a Command, but he refused it, saying, *He was now resolved to serve him who knew how to Reward Services, and punish Offenders*. The unfortunate Secretary, *de Lucena*, being put upon the Rack, and being weak with Age, fainted away without Confessing. Nevertheless, though all had recanted that Accused him, he was condemned to Death as a

Secretary
put to
Death upon
account of a
supposed
Conspiracy.

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Traytor, and suffered accordingly, positively denying any Guilt in the Matter he was accused of to the last Minute of his Life. The Rabble would have torn him in pieces when he was brought Prisoner from the Castle of *St. Julian*, but he was then preserved by the Guards to be made a Sacrifice to that many headed Monster in a more Solemn Manner, being publicly Beheaded upon a Scaffold.

King John
rewards
those that
suffered for
the Conspi-
racy at
Carthage-
na.

Whilst due Examination was making into this Piece of Treachery, the King of *Portugal* made Generous Acknowledgments to the Count de *Castelmelhor*, on account of his good Endeavours and Sufferings beforemention'd. The Post of General of the Frontiers, betwixt the Rivers *Duero* and *Minho*, given him, as the first Reward of his Fidelity in the *West-Indies*, seeming too small a Recompence for a Service of such Consequence, he added to it a Present of a considerable Sum of Money, a Commandary of the Military Order of Christ, worth 2000 Crowns a Year, gave the Reversion of it to his Children, and confirmed that Earldom to his Third Generation. To Father *Ambrose*, a Benedictine, concerned in the Counts Escape, he gave a Benefice. To *Antony de Abien*, Captain of the *Caravel*, that went for him, a considerable Commandary. And because *Dominick de Sylva*, *Antony Rodiguez*, the *Spanish* Corporal, Two Soldiers that were upon the Guard, and the *Dutch* Captain that lent his Vessel to forward the Undertaking, had all contributed to the Earl's Deliverance, they also were made Partakers of the King's Bounty. The *Dutch* Captain had 2000 Crowns, *Dominick de Sylva* was Knighted, and had a Company in a Marine Regiment, with a Pension. The *Spanish* Corporal had also a Company in the Land Service, with a Pension as the other. The Two Soldiers were likewise made Captains, but without any other Addition of Honour or Pension. These Acts of Generosity in the King redounded much to his Honour, as did no less his Prudence in placing good Commanders upon the Frontiers. *George de Melo*, General of the Gallies, was put into the Fort of *St. Julian*, to secure that Place, whilst *D. Joseph*

de Menezes, the former Governour, was proceeded against. *D. Francis de Sousa Coutinho*, returning from his Embassy of *Sweden*, had the Government of the Island *Tercera* conferred on him. *D. Alvaro de Abranhez* was appointed General of the Frontiers of *Beira*, and *D. John de Sousa*, of those of the Province *Tralos Montes*.

About this time, according to the Vicissitude of Humane Things, the Count Duke *de Olivarez* lost the Favour of the Catholick King of *Spain*, whose Prime Minister he had been for the space of 22 Years; and because his Government had appeared Tyrannical to the *Portuguese*, there were few of them who did not express extraordinary Satisfaction at his Fall. Another Incident of the Times produced great Compassion in such as were least Zealous for Religion. *F. Antony Francis Cardin*, a Jesuit, and General Procurator for the Society in the Province of *Japan*, gave an Account that Four *Portuguese* Ambassadors from *Macao*, being at the Town of *Nangassaki*, with 66 Persons in their Retinue, for the Settling of Trade, and to endeavour the Planting of the Christian Faith there; the Emperor of that Island, whose Name was *Toyogun*, had cast them all into Dungeons, then put to Death the Four Ambassadors, with 53 of the Chief of their Retinue, and sent Home the other 13 in Derision of the Apostles, to carry the News of that Bloody Execution to *Macao*. The *Dutch*, notwithstanding the Cessation of Arms betwixt the Crown of *Portugal* and the States of *Holland*, entered the City *Negapatan* in *India*; the *Portuguese* not being able to withstand them, and obliged them to Ransom it for 11000 Pieces of Eight. A Treaty was afterwards set on Foot for settling a Truce betwixt the Two Nations in those Parts, but the *Hollanders* thinking it more for their Advantage to continue the War, soon broke it off. The next Act of Hostility they committed was in the Island *Ceylon*, where thinking to Surprise the *Portuguese* quarter'd in the Village *Cunaza*, as relying on the Truce betwixt the Two Nations, they marched against them; but they having Intelligence of their coming, charged them

The King of Spain's Favourite disgraced.

Several Persons suffered Martyrdom in Japan.

1643.

with such Bravery, that of 400 *Hollanders* scarce any escaped being kill'd or taken. This Victory gave the *Portugueze* in that Island Quiet for some time: But still the War was continued in other Parts. After the *Dutch* had left *Negapatan*, it was Besieged by a Neighbouring *Naque* or Prince of the *Indians*, but he meeting with a vigorous Opposition, soon desisted.

In *America*, the *Portugueze* under the Command of *Antony Teyxeyra*, after a long Siege, recovered from the *Dutch* the City *St. Luis* of *Maranhao*, they being forc'd to abandon it for want of Provisions, and most of them afterwards perished by the Hands of the *Indians*, whom they had Barbarously used. The *Portugueze* Affairs were not so successful in *Angola*, where their Men, under the Command of *Peter Cesar*, were worsted by the *Dutch*, who afterwards concluded a Truce with them, fell upon them, killing 40, taking 187 Prisoners, and forcing the rest to fly for Safety to the Mountains. Their Fort at *Mozambique* enjoyed more Peace, for the Emperor of *Monomotapa* having been lately converted to the Faith by the Religious of the Order of *St. Dominick*, professed an inviolable Friendship towards the *Portugueze*, and had obtained a Number of them of *Julius Moniz*, the Governour of that Fort, for his Guard.

The *Portugueze* Ambassador at Rome not admitted to Audience.

But to make no farther Excursions, and to conclude the Affairs of this Country for the Present. The Pope always continuing fix'd in his Resolution not to give Audience to the Bishop of *Lamego*, sent by the King of *Portugal*, with the Quality of his Ambassador to *Rome*, that Bishop was at length oblig'd to return Home. He was conducted by some of the Duke of *Florence's* Horse to *Leghorn*, where Four *Portugueze* Ships lay ready to carry him to *Lisbon*. *D. Luis Pereira de Castro*, Counsellor in his Majesties Council of Conscience, was nevertheless chosen to undertake another Voyage to *Rome*. But because the rejecting of a Second Ambassador might be of ill Consequence to the Crown of *Portugal*, this Counsellor took only the Stile of Deputy of all the Clergy of the Kingdom, to represent their Wants, and how prejudicial

judicial it was to refuse to admit an Ambassador from his *Portugueze* Majesty, who had omitted nothing that might tend to convince the Christian World of his Zeal for Religion, and his Respect to the Holy See.

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There is nothing else remarkable to keep us from putting a Period to the Affairs of this Year, but that on the 18th of May died

Spondanus his death.

Spondanus, Bishop of *Pamiez* in *France*, Famous in his Age for his Piety, Learning and Dignity: He was Born at *Maubeon de Soule* a Town in *Gascoigne*, between *Navarre* and *Bearn*, An. 1568. He accompanied the Cardinal *de Sandis* to *Rome* in 1600. he made an Abridgment of *Baronius's* Annals, and continued then to 1640. He endeavoured to do the same in respect to the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Old Testament to Christ, which is properly an Abridgment of those of *Torniellus*. He wrote also *de Cæmenteriis Sacris*, and died at *Tholouse* at the Age of 75.

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The Beginning of the Year Forty-four presaged as little and less Tranquility to poor *England*, than it had felt for some time before, and it was ushered in with the Execution of the Two *Hothams*, Father and Son for the Parliament having discover'd some Alteration in the Son's Behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubborness of his Nature would not suffer him to submit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that Superiority over both his Father and him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and having some inkling of Secret Massages between the Marquis of *Newcastle* and Young *Hotham*, they caused both Father and Son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; who immediately committed them to the *Tower* upon a Charge of High Treason. Though there was Evidence enough against them, yet they had so many Friends in Both Houses of Parliament, and some of that Interest in the Army, that they were preserv'd from farther Prosecution, and remain'd long Prisoners in the *Tower*, without being brought to any Trial; so that they believ'd their Punishment to be at the highest. But when that Party prevail'd that resolv'd to new Model the
Amy,

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Army, they who had hitherto preserv'd them had now lost their Interest; so that they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both Condemn'd to lose their Heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *Newcastle*. The Father was first Condemn'd to suffer upon a Day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the Day following: the Night before, or the very Morning, that Sir *John Hotbham* was to Die, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his Execution for Three Days. The Commons were highly incens'd at this in the Lords; and to prevent the like for the future, they made an Order 'to all Mayors, ' Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Ministers of Justice, ' that no Reprieve should be granted or allow'd ' for any Person, against whom the Sentence of ' Death was pronounced, except the same had ' passed, and had the consent of Both Houses ' of Parliament; and that if it passed only by ' the House of Peers, it should be look'd upon ' as invalid and void, and Execution should not ' be thereupon forborn or suspended. By this Accident the Son was brought to Execution before his Father, upon the Day on which he was sentenced to suffer, which was the First of *January*; who died with Courage, and reproaching ' the Ingratitude of the Parliament, and their ' continuance of the War, concluded ' that, as to ' them, he was very Innocent, and had never ' been guilty of Treason. The Father was brought to the Scaffold the next Day: For they sent an Order to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* that he should cause him to be Executed that very Day, which was Two Days before the Reprieve granted by the House of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet some Promise from *Peters* that he should only be shew'd to the People, and so return'd safe again to the *Tower*, which was then generally reported, and believ'd; or whether he was

brok'n

broken with Despair when he saw that his Enemies prevail'd so far, he could not be permitted to live those Two Days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that he appear'd so dis-spirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and suffer'd *Peters* to tell the People ' that he had reveal'd himself ' to him, and confess'd his Offences against the ' Parliament, and so he committed his Head to the Block: Sir *Alexander Carew* was Beheaded for endeavouring to Betray *Plymouth*, with the Government of which he was entrusted by the Parliament.

But enough of this at this time; nothing troubled the King so much as the Intelligence he receiv'd from *Scotland*, that they had already form'd their Army, and resolv'd to enter *England* in the Winter Season. In the Northern Parts of which they were like to find a strong Party. However, the Marquis of *Newcastle* sent a good Body of Horse towards the Borders, to wait their Motion; and no sooner heard of their March, which begun in *January*, in a great Frost and Snow, than himself March'd into the Bishoprick of *Durham* to attend them. In these

The Scots
enter Eng-
land in
Jan.

Streights, Two Expedients, which were proposed to the King, his Majesty directed should be both consulted in the Council. The one was, ' that all the Peers who were then in *Oxford*, ' or in the King's Service, might subscribe a ' Letter to the Council of State in *Scotland*, ' whereby it would appear, by the Subscription, ' that above Six Parts of the whole Nobility, ' and House of Peers, were in the King's Ser- ' vice, and disavow'd all those Actions which ' were done against him by the pretended Au- ' thority of the Houses; which possibly might ' make some Impression upon the Nation of ' *Scotland*. A Letter was prepared accordingly, ex- ' pressing ' the foulness of the Rebellion in Eng- ' land, under the Reputation of the Houses of ' Parliament, and the carrying on the same ' when they had driven away, by force, much ' the Major Part of the Members of Both Houses, ' and expressly against all the Laws of the Land.

A Letter
from the
Peers on
the King's
side to the
Council in
Scotland.

It put them in Mind of ' their Obligation to ' the

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to the King, and particularly concluded ' with conjuring them to desist from their unjust and unwarrantable Purpose, since they could have no Excuse for prosecuting the same from the Authority of Parliament. The Letter was perused and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the presence of all the Peers; and being generally approv'd, without any dissenting Voice, it was order'd to be engross'd, and sign'd by all those Peers and Privy Counsellors who were then in *Oxford*, to be sent to those who were absent in any of the Armies, or in the King's Quarters, and to be then sent to the Marquis of *Newcastle*: who after he had sign'd it with those Peers who were in those Parts, was to transmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

Of all the Peers who follow'd the King, there was only one who refused to Sign this Letter, the Earl of *Leicester* by Name, who, after Pauses and Delays, whether he had not yet digested his late Desposal from the Lieutenantancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of *Ormond* was deputed, or thought the King's Fortune desperate, and resolv'd not to sacrifice himself to any popular Displeasure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his Purpose to be found in their Quarrels, as shortly after he was, he did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the Letter; and thereby was the Occasion of a Mistake he did not intend. For Both their Majesties, in their Secret Purpose, had design'd him to succeed the Marquis of *Herford* in the Government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper; but upon this so affected a discovery of a Nature and Mind liable to no kind of Compliance, the King could not prosecute his Purpose; and so the Government of that Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berkshire*, for no other Reason but because he had a mind to it and his importunity very was troublesome: He being most unfit for that Province, of any other that

that required any Proportion of Wisdom and Understanding for the discharge of it.

The other Expedient proposed was, 'that since the whole Kingdom was misled by the Reverence they had to Parliaments and believ'd that the Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be otherwise preserv'd than by their sole Authority, and that it appear'd to be to no purpose to perswade Men that what they did was against Law, when they were perswaded that their very doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual, to convince them that they who did those Monstrous Things were not the Parliament, but a handful of Desperate Persons, who, by the help of the Tumults raised in the City of *London* had driven away the Major Part of the Parliament, whilst they were in truth much the less, and the least considerable Part of it; which would appear manifestly if the King would issue out a Proclamation to require all the Members who had left the Parliament at *Westminster*, to repair to *Oxford* by such a Day, where his Majesty would be willing to advise with them in Matters of the greatest Importance, concerning the Peace and Distractions of the Kingdom: By this means he might in many things serve himself by their Assistance, and it would evidently appear by the Number of Both Houses, whose Names would be quickly known and published, few remain'd at *Westminster* who carried on the devouring War, so grievous to the whole Kingdom.

The King at first much hesitated upon this Matter, whereas the Council seem'd much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in View; and it might be reasonably hoped and presumed, 'that Persons, who had that Duty to obey his Majesty's Summons, in coming thither, which would be none but such as had already absented themselves from *Westminster*, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome Humours with them, to disturb that Service

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Service which could only preserve them: But on the contrary, would unite and conspire together to make the King Superior to his and their Enemies. And as to the advancing any Propositions of Peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his Majesty to oppose, there could be no Inconvenience; their appearing in it would but draw Reproach from those at *Westminster*, who would never give them any Answer, or look upon them under any Notion, but as Private Persons, and Deserters of the Parliament, without any Qualification to Treat or to be Treated with: Which would more provoke those at *Oxford*, and, by degrees, stir up more Animosities between them. Accordingly a Proclamation was issued out, containing the Grounds and Motives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to invade the Kingdom, and summon'd all the Members of Both Houses of Parliament, except only such as, having Command in his Majesty's Armies in the *North*, and in the *West*, could not be dispensed with to be absent from their Charges, to attend upon his Majesty in *Oxford* upon a Day fixed in *January*.

The King was not all this while without Apprehension of the Dangers that threaten'd him in the Growth and Improvement of the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and how impossible it would be for him, without some more Extraordinary Assistance, to resist that Torrent, which he foresaw, by the next Spring, would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not Provision accordingly.

The King
sends for
part of the
English
Army out
of Ireland.

So that his Majesty directed the Marquis of *Ormond* in *Ireland* to make Choice of such Regiments and Troops as were necessary for the Defence of the several Garrisons, as could be provided for, and supported in that Kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for *England*. To which purpose Shipping was sent, with Direction that those from and about *Dublin* should be Shipp'd for *Chester*, to be join'd to those Forces

Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*, whereby he might be able to resist the growing Power of Sir *William Bruerton*; who, by an Addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Sir *John Gell*, was grown very strong; being backed by *Lancashire*, which upon the Matter was wholly reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament: And that the other Forces out of *Munster* should be landed at *Bristol*, to be disposed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army to oppose Sir *William Waller*, who threaten'd an Inroad into the *West*; or rather to seek him out by visiting *Hampshire* and *Sussex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at *Oxford* was much encreased by the Queen's Presence, and the Necessities were encreased with the Expence. All Correspondence was now absolutely broken with *London*; the Money, which, by the Particular Persons of all Conditions, had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the War, was now near spent, and the stopping the Intercourse with *London* had shut the Door against farther Supply; so that all Men were weary of the Condition they were in, and expressed it in Murmurs and Complaint. And now all the Hope of the Royalists seem'd to be in the Members of Parliament; which being a new Thing, suspended the present Indisposition, and administer'd some Expectation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the Kingdom, would do.

According to the King's Proclamation the Members of Both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn from those at *Westminster*, appear'd at *Oxford* at the Day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their Commands in the Counties, where the Armies were. They were graciously and solemnly welcom'd by his Majesty, with that Ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them,

'That he had call'd them to be Witnesses of his Actions, and Privy to his Intentions; and that

The Members of Both Houses met at Oxford.

King's Speech to them.

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that he desired to receive any Advice from them, which they thought would be suitable to the Miserable and Distracted Condition of the Kingdom; in presenting whereof they should use all that Parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at *Westminster*, and which, with all their other Priviledges, they should enjoy at *Oxford*, though they could not in the other Place; with many Expressions of Grace towards them, and Confidence in them. Assoon as they had withdrawn to those Places which were assign'd to their Counsels, both Lords and Commons enter'd upon the Deliberation of all possible Expedients in order to Peace; but how to advance to any Formality, which probably might produce a Disposition to Intercourse, appear'd very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a Gracious Message and Overture to the Houses, they presently remember'd and consider'd what he had already done that Way, and what returns he had receiv'd from them: That to the Two last Messages he had sent they had never return'd Answer, and that they still detain'd his last Messenger in strict Durance, after having exposed him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Address to be made to them from his Majesty, except through the Hands of the Earl of *Essex* their General. From thence those at *Oxford* enter'd upon the Disquisition, how they might engage his Lordship to the same Thoughts and Desires with them; to the which they easily believ'd Experience, Observation, and Interest, would engage him; and therefore they resolv'd to write a Letter to the Earl in their own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by a Trumpet sent to him, within Four Days after their meeting, and the same was in these very Terms.

They send
a Letter to
the Earl of
Essex.

My Lord,

'His Majesty having by his Proclamation of the 22d of *December* (upon the Occasion of the Invasion threaten'd, and in part begun by some

some of his Subjects of *Scotland*) summon'd
all the Members of Both Houses of Parliament
to attend him here at *Oxford*, we whose Names
are underwritten, are here met and assembled,
in Obedience to those his Majesty's Commands.
His Majesty was pleased to invite us in the said
Proclamation by these Gracious Expressions, that
his Subjects should see, how willing he was
to receive Advice, for the Preservation of the
Religion, Laws and Safety of the Kingdom, and
as far as in him lay to restore it to it's former
Peace and Security (his chief and only End)
from those whom they had trusted; though
he could not receive it in the Place where he
appointed. This most Gracious Invitation hath
not only been made good unto us, but second-
ed, and heighen'd by such unquestionable De-
monstrations of the deep and Princely Sense
which possesses his Royal Heart of the Miseries
and Calamities of his poor Subjects in this
unnatural War, and of his most entire and pas-
sionate Affections to redeem them from that
sad and deplorable Condition, by all ways pos-
sible consistent with his Honour or with the
future Safety of the Kingdom, that as it were
impiety to Question the sincerity of them, so
were it great want of Duty and faithfulness in
us (his Majesty having vouchsafed to declare
that he did call us to be Witnesses of his Actions
and Privy to his Intentions) should we not
Testifie and Witness to all the World the As-
surance we have of the Piety and Sincerity of
Both. We being most entirely satisfied of this
Truth, we cannot but confess, that amidst our
highest Afflictions, in the deep and piercing
Sense of the present Miseries and Desolations
of our Country, and those farther Dangers
threaten'd from *Scotland*, we are at length erect-
ed to some chearful and comfortable Thoughts,
that possibly we may yet (by God's Mercy, if
his Justice hath not determin'd this Nation for
total Ruin and Desolation) Hope to be happy
Instruments of our Countries Redemption from
the

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the Miseries of War, and Restitution to the Blessing of Peace.

And we have been desirous to believe your Lordship, however engaged, a Person likely to be sensibly touch'd with these Considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that Part in this Blessed Work, which is only capable to repair all our Misfortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from Ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the Obligations that have Power upon Honour, Conscience or Publick Piety, that laying to Heart, as we do, the Inward Bleeding Condition of your Country, and the Outward more Menacing Destruction by a Foreign Nation, upon the very Point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to it's Preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest Design of ours; that they joining with us in a right Sense of the past, present, and more threatening Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom, some Persons be appointed on either Part, and a Place agreed on, to Treat of such a Peace as may yet redeem it from the Brink of Desolation.

This Address we should not have made, but that his Majesty's Summons, by which we are most graciously proclaiming Pardon to all without Exception, is evidence enough, that his Mercy and Clemency can transcend all former Provocations; and that he hath not only made us Witnesses of his Princely Intentions, but honoured us also with the Name of being Security from them. God Almighty direct our Lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most rael desires, in such a Course as may produce that happy Peace, and Settlement of the present Distractions, which is heartily desired and pray'd for by us, and which may make us,

Your, &c.

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

Some

Some being desirous perhaps to know the Names of the Lords and Commons who subscribed this Letter to the Earl, they were these that follow.

Charles, P.
York.
Cumberland.
Ed. Littleton's.
Fra Cottingham.
D. Richmond.
M. Hartford.
E. Lindsey.
E. Dorset.
E. Shrewsbury.
E. Bath.
E. Southampton.
E. Leicester.
E. Northampton.
E. Devonshire.
E. Carlile.
E. Bristol.
E. Barkshire.
E. Cleaveland.
E. Rivers.
E. Dover.
E. Peterborough.
E. Kingston.
E. Newport.
E. Portland.
V. Conway.
L. Digby.
L. Mombray and Maltravers.
L. Wentworth.
L. Cromwel.
L. Rich.
L. Paget.
L. Chandos.
L. Howard of Charlton.
L. Lovelace.
L. Savile.
L. Mobun.
L. Dunsmore.

L. Seymore.
L. Percy.
L. Wilmot. C. S.
L. Leigh.
L. Hatton.
L. Jermin.
L. Carrington.
John Fettiplace, Esq;
Sir Alexander Denton.
Sir John Packington.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Francis Gamul, Esq;
John Harris, Esq;
Joseph Fane, Esq;
Richard Edgcombe, Esq;
Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;
G. Frane, Esq;
P. Edgcombe, Esq;
Will. Glanvil, Esq;
Sir Robert Holburn.
Sir Richard Sydenham.
Francis Godolphin, Esq;
George Perry, Dr. of Law.
Ambrose Manaton, Esq;
Richard Vivian, Esq;
John Polewhale, Esq;
John Arundel, Esq;
Thomas Lower, Esq;
Sir Edward Hide.
William Allestree, Esq;
Sir George Stonehouse.
Edward Seymore, Esq;
Peter Saintbill, Esq;
Sir William Poole.
Roger Mathew, Esq;
Richard Arundel, Esq;
Robert Walker, Esq;
Giles Strangways, Esq;
Sir John Strangways.

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Sir Thomas Hele.

Sir George Naper.

Samuel Turner, Dr. in
Physick.

William Constantine, Esq;

Henry Killigrew, Esq;

Richard King, Esq;

John Dutton, Esq;

Henry Brett, Esq;

William Chadwel, Esq;

Sir Theobald Gorges.

John George, Esq;

Sir Thomas Fanshaw.

Hump. Conningsby, Esq;

Richard Seabome, Esq;

Arthur Lord Ranelagh.

Thomas Tomkins, Esq;

Sir Sampson Evers.

Sir John Culpeper.

Jeffrey Palmer, Esq;

Sir John Harrison.

Thomas Fanshaw, Esq;

Sir Roger Palmer.

Sir Orlando Bridgman.

Will. Watkins, Esq;

John Smith, Esq;

Sir Thomas Bludder.

Sir Edward Littleton.

Sir Harry Baggot.

Sir Richard Leveson.

Sir Richard Cave.

Richard Weston, Esq;

Sir Richard Lee.

Sir Thomas Whitmore.

Sir Edward Aston.

C. Baldwin, Esq;

Richard Goodwin, Esq;

Thomas Howard, Esq;

Thomas Littleton, Esq;

Sir Robert Howard.

Sir John Meux.

Mathew Davis, Esq;

Sir Fran. Cornwallis.

Thomas Jermin, Esq;

John Taylor, Esq;

William Bassett, Esq;

Sir William Portman.

Sir Edward Rodney.

Thomas Hanham, Esq;

Edward Phillips, Esq;

John Digby, Esq;

Christ. Kirton, Esq;

Edward Lukenor, Esq;

Sir Edward Alford.

John White, Esq;

John Asburnham, Esq;

William Smith, Esq;

Thomas Leeds, Esq;

Sir James Thinne.

William Pleydel, Esq;

Robert Hide, Serjeant at
Law.

Sir Edward Griffin.

Sir Walter Smith.

George Lowe, Esq;

Richard Harding, Esq;

Sir Henry Herbert.

Andrew Porter, Esq;

Samuel Sandys, Esq;

John Podwil, Esq;

William Morgan, Esq;

William Thomas, Esq;

John Mostin, Esq;

Henry Bellasis, Esq;

Sir George Wentworth.

William Malory, Esq;

Richard Aldburgh, Esq;

John Salisbury, Esq;

William Herbert, Esq;

William Price, Esq;

Sir Robert Herbert.

Charles Price, Esq;

Phil. Warwick, Esq;

Thomas Cook, Esq;

Sir Robert Crooke.

Henry Price, Esq;

John Whistler, Esq;

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen. 341

These Peers following, being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service, and concurred with us. 1644.

V. Cambden.	L. Capel.
L. Abergavenny.	L. Newport.
L. Arundel.	

Peers imployed in his Majesties Service, or absent with Leave.

M. of Winchester.	L. Evers.
M. Worcester.	L. Daincourt.
M. Newcastle.	L. Pawlet.
E. Derby.	L. Brudenell.
E. Huntington.	L. Powis.
F. Clare.	L. Herbert of Cherbury.
E. Marlborough.	L. Hopton.
V. Falconbridge.	L. Loughborough.
L. Morley.	L. Byron.
L. Darcy and Coniers.	L. Vaughan.
L. Stourton.	L. Withrington.

Peers absent in the Parts beyond the Seas.

E. Arundel	L. Coventry.
E. St. Albans.	L. Goring.
V. Montague.	L. Craven of Hampsted.
V. Stafford.	L. Craven of Ruton.
L. Stanhope.	

Peers in Prison for their Loyalty to his Majesty.

E. Chesterfield.	L. Montague of Boughton.
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These Members following being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service, and concurred with us.

Peter Venables, Esq;	Sir John Burlase.
Sir John Pawlet.	Francis Newport, Esq;
Edward Bagshaw, Esq;	Anthony Hungerford, Esq;
	L. 3. John

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John Russel, Esq;
Thomas Chicheley, Esq;
 Earl of Cork.
Sir Gervase Clifton.
Sir Guy Palms.
Robert Sutton, Esq;
Gervase Hollis, Esq;
Sir Patritius Carwen.
Sir Henry Bellingham.

Sir George Dalston.
Sir Thomas Standford.
Sir William Dalston.
Michael Wharton, Esq;
Sir Robert Hatton.
James Scudamore, Esq;
Sir John Brooke.
Sir John Stepney.

Imployed in his Service, or Absent with Leave, or
 by Sicknefs.

Sir John Fenwick.
Hugh Potter, Esq;
Walter Kyele, Esq;
William Stanhope, Esq;
Sir William Carnaby.
Sir Thomas Danby.
John Tenwick.
Ralph Sneade, Esq;
Sir William Ogle.
Sir Thomas Fermine.
Sir John Stowel.
Sir Robert Strikland.
Sir Philip Musgrave.
John Cowcher, Esq;
John Coventry, Esq;
Sir Henry Slingsby.

Sir John Malory.
John Bellasis, Esq;
Sir Thomas Ingram.
L. Mansfield.
Thomas Heblethwait, Esq;
Sir Hugh Cholmely.
Sir George Wentworth.
Sir Walter Lloyd.
John Vaughan, Esq;
Richard Ferres, Esq;
George Hartnol, Esq;
Sir William Udal.
Robert Hunt, Esq;
Thomas May, Esq;
Sir Thomas Bowyer.
Sir Thomas Roe.

The Trumpeter found the Earl of Essex at his House in London, where he was detain'd Three or Four Days; during which time, the Committee of Both Houses, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the Two Kingdoms, (the *Scottish* Commissioners being Part of it) resorted to the Earl for his Advice: And in the end, the Trumpeter return'd with this short Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

My Lord,

I receiv'd this Day a Letter of the 29th
 of this instant, from your Lordship, and a Parch-
 ment

ment Subscribed by the Prince, Duke of York, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having Address to the Two Houses of Parliament, nor therein, there being acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My Lord, the Maintenance of the Parliament of *England*, and of the Privileges thereof, is that for which we are resolv'd to spend our Blood, as being the Foundation whereupon all our Laws and Liberties are built. I send your Lordship herewith a National Covenant, solemnly enter'd into by Both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and a Declaration passed by them both together, with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I rest,

Your Lordships, &c.

The Covenant was accounted for before in the preceding Year, and for the Declaration take a short Extract of some Particular Heads or Conclusions of them.

That Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* alone was to justify their Expedition into *England*; in which they said, 'it was most necessary that every one, against all doubting, should be perswaded in his Mind of the Lawfulness of his Undertaking, and of the Goodness of the Cause maintain'd by him; which they said was no other than the Good of Religion in *England*, and the Deliverance of their Brethren out of the depths of Affliction; the Preservation of their own Religion, and of themselves from the Extremity of Misery, and the Safety of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, from Destruction and Desolation. Any of which (they said) by all Law Divine and Human, was too just Cause of taking of Arms; how much more when all of them were join'd in one? And therefore they wish'd any Man, who did withdraw, and hide himself in such a Debate and Controversie, to consider whether he were not a Hater of his Brethren, against Christian and Common Charity; an Hater of himself and his Posterity, against the Law and

An Extract of the Declaration of the Kingdom of Scotland.

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‘ Light of Nature ; an Hater of the King and his Kingdoms, against Loyalty, and common Duty ; and a Hater of God, against all Religion and Peace.

They said, ‘ the Question was not, nor need they dispute, whether they might propagate their Religion by Arms, but whether, according to their Power, they ought to assist their Brethren in *England*, who were calling for their Help, and were shedding their Blood in defence of that Power, without which Religion could neither be defended nor reform’d ; nor unity of Religion with them, and other Reform’d Kirks be attain’d. So that they said, the Question was no sooner rightly stated, but it was as soon resolv’d ; and concluded, *that the Lord would save them from the Curses of Meroz, who came not to help the Lord against the Mighty.* They said the Question could not be, as their Enemies would make it, whether they should enter into *England* and lift Arms against their own King, who had promised and done as much, as might secure them in their own Religion and Liberties ; but whether against the Popish Malignant Party, their Adherents prevailing in *England* and *Ireland*, they were not bound to provide for their own Preservation. That they might well have known, from continual Experience, ever since the time of their first Reformation, especially after the Two Kingdoms were united under one Head and Monarch, and from the Principles of their own Declarations in the time of their late Troubles and Dangers, that they could not long, like *Goshen*, enjoy their Light, if Darknes should cover the Face of other Reform’d Kirks : That *Judah* could not long continue in Liberty, if *Israel* were led away in Captivity ; and that the Condition of the One Kirk and Kingdom whether in Religion or Peace, must be common to Both.

§ They

‘ They said the Question was not, whether they
 ‘ should presume to be Arbitrators in the Matter,
 ‘ now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt his Ma-
 ‘ jesty and the Houses of Parliament ; which might
 ‘ seem to be Foreign and Extrinsecal to that Na-
 ‘ tion, and wherein they might be conceiv’d to
 ‘ have no Interest ; but whether their Mediation
 ‘ and Intercession being rejected by the one Side,
 ‘ upon Hope of Victory, or suppose both Sides, upon
 ‘ Confidence of their Strength and several Successes,
 ‘ it were not their Duty, it being in their Power,
 ‘ to stop or prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood ;
 ‘ or whether they ought not to Endeavour to rescue
 ‘ their Native King, his Crown and Posterity, out
 ‘ of the midst of so many Dangers, and to preserve
 ‘ his People and Kingdom from Ruin and Destruction.
 ‘ If every private Man were bound in Duty
 ‘ to interpose himself as a Reconciler and Seque-
 ‘ strator between his Neighbours, arm’d to their
 ‘ mutual Destruction ; if the Son ought to Hazard
 ‘ his own Life for the Preservation of his Father
 ‘ and Brother, at Variance one against the other,
 ‘ should a Kingdom sit still, and suffer their King
 ‘ and Neighbouring Kingdom to perish in an unna-
 ‘ tural War ? In the Time of Animosity, and Ap-
 ‘ petite of Revenge, such an Interpoling might be an
 ‘ Irritation ; but afterwards, when the Eyes of the
 ‘ Mind, no more Blood-run with Passion, did dis-
 ‘ cern things Right, it would be no Grief, or Of-
 ‘ fence of Heart, but Matter of Thanksgiving to
 ‘ God, and to the Instruments which had kept
 ‘ from shedding Blood, and from Revenge.

The other Declaration, mention’d in the Earl’s
 Letter, was a Declaration pass’d, and published in
 the Name of both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scot-*
land, after their Union by their League and Cove-
 nant, and about the very time that this very Over-
 ture for Peace came from *Oxford*. They talked
 ‘ how clearly the Light of the Gospel shined amongst
 ‘ them ; that they placed not their Confidence
 ‘ in their own Counsels and Strength, but their
 ‘ Confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of
 ‘ Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his Peo-
 ‘ ple. It was his own Truth and Cause, which
 ‘ they

*An Extract
 of the Decla-
 tion of Eng-
 land and
 Scotland.*

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they maintain'd against the Heresie, Superstition,
 and Tyranny of Antichrist : The Glory of his
 Name, the Exaltation of the Kingdom of his
 Son, and the Preservation of his Church, was
 their Aim, and the End which they had before
 their Eyes. It was his Covenant which they
 had solemnly in Both Nations Sworn and Sub-
 scribed ; which he would not have put in their
 Hearts to do, if he had been minded to destroy
 them. Upon these and the like Grounds, and
 Considerations, being Confident that this War,
 wherein Both Nations were so firmly united and
 deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve with
 Courage and Constancy to the end to do their
 Part ; and the Lord, who had stirred up their
 Spirits, displayed his Banner before them, and
 given the Alarm, do that which seemeth him
 good. They gave now Publick Warning to all
 Men to rest no longer upon their Neutrality, or to
 please themselves with the Naughty and Slothful
 Pretext of Indifferency ; but that they Address
 themselves speedily to take the Covenant, and
 join, with all their Power, in the Defence of this
 Cause against the Common Enemy ; and by their
 Zeal and Forwardness hereafter, to make up what
 had been wanting through their Lukewarmness ;
 this they would find to be their greatest Wisdom
 and Safety ; otherwise they did declare them to
 be Publick Enemies to their Religion, and Coun-
 try ; and that they were to be censur'd and
 punish'd as professed Adversaries and Malignants.

Then they proclaim'd a Pardon to all those who
 before such a Day forsake the King, and adhere to
 them, and take the Covenant ; and concluded,
 that they made not that Declaration from any Pre-
 sumption or Vain-glorying in the Strength of
 their Armies and Forces, but from the Sense of
 their Duty which was required and expected
 from the High Places, and Publick Relations,
 wherein they stood ; and from the Assurance they
 had of the Assistance of God, by whose Provi-
 dence the Trust and Safety of those Kingdoms was
 put into their Hands at this time ; having after

long

long and grave Consultation resolv'd and decreed never to lay down Arms till Truth and Peace, by the Blessing of God, be settled in this Island, upon a firm Foundation for the present and future Generations; which they said, should be esteem'd of them an abundant Reward of all that they could do or suffer in that Cause.

These were the Declarations which the Earl of *Essex*, together with the Covenant, sent as an Answer to that Letter from the Prince of *Wales*, and those Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the Foundation of an Honest and Honourable Peace to all the King's Dominion. And 'tis an Observation of my Lord *Cl——* that after this time the Earl declined this Opportunity of declaring himself, he never did a Prosperous Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before he had throughout the Course of his Command behaved himself with very Signal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorn'd with the Testimony of Friends and Enemies of a Right Good General, upon the Conclusion of the Business of *Gloucester*; he never after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Successful Thing, but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death.

There wanted no Indignation at *Oxford* at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Answer being so much in that popular Road, of saying something plausibly to the People, it was thought fit again to make another Attempt, and the Earl of *Forth* was advised to write again to *Essex* for a Safe Conduct for Gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable Exception could be taken, to and from *Westminster*, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Essex* return'd Answer, that whensoever he should receive any Directions from those who had intrusted him, he should use his best Endeavours, and when a Safe Conduct should be desired for those Gentlemen, mention'd in his Letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his Lordship would with all cheerfulness shew his willingness to farther any Way that might

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might produce that Happiness, which all Honest Men pray'd for ; which was a True Understanding between his Majesty and his faithful and only Council, the Parliament. This Expression of his Resolution of interposing, if he had a Letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament (together with some Intimation in Letters from *London*, which at these Seasons never wanted) perswaded many that the Earl wanted only an Opportunity to possess the Houses with the Overture, and that if it were once within the Walls, there were so many well affected to Peace, that the Proposition would not be rejected ; though no Particular Person, or Combination of Men, had the Courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time making all possible Preparation for the Field, as the Scene where the Differences were like to be decided, his Majesty was prevail'd with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing Message, which was enclosed to the Earl of *Essex* to be by him managed.

*The King's
Message to
both Houses.*

Out of our most Tender and Pious Sense of the Sad and Bleeding Condition of this our Kingdom, and our unwearied Desires to apply all Remedies, which, by the Blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an utter Ruin, by the Advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, we do propound and desire that a Convenient Number of fit Persons may be appointed and authorized by you to meet, with all Convenient Speed, at such Place as you shall Nominate, with an equal Number of fit Persons whom we shall appoint and authorize to Treat of the Ways and Means to Settle the present Dissensions of this our Kingdom, and to procure a Happy Peace : And particularly, how all the Members of Both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to Treat, Consult and Agree upon such Things as may conduce to the Maintenance and Defence of the True Reform'd Protestant Religion, with due Consideration to all Just and Reasonable Ease of Tender Consciences, to the Settling and Maintaining of our Just Rights and Privileges, of

the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, the Laws of
the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject,
and all other Expedients that may conduce to that
Blessed End of a firm and lasting Peace both in
Church and State, and a perfect understanding
betwixt us and our People: Wherein no Endeavours,
or Concurrence of ours, shall be wanting:
And God direct your Hearts in the Way of Peace.
Given at our Court at Oxford, March 3. 164³.

This Message, being sign'd by his Majesty, was
superfcribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament
assembled at *Westminster*; to which after Two or
Three Debates in the Houses, and with the *Scottish*
Commissioners, without whose Concurrence nothing
was transacted, you will have their Answer presently:
In the Interim, according to *Whitlock*, the Lords were
for having a New Committee named to consider of
sitions of Peace, and *Whitlock* in the House of Propo-
sitions made the following Speech on that Occa-
sion.

Mr. Speaker,

IT would be no Wonder to see an Unanimous
Concurrence of the Whole House in further-
ing Propositions for a good Peace. The Calamities
of our Distractions have brought us to it, and
who is there amongst us that hath not in some
Measure felt the Strokes of them. I am sure I
have smarted by them. We may here say, but I
hope never with the like application, what *Tacitus*
said of the *Romans*, *omnia Discordiis Crilibus fessa*.
the Land is weary of our Discord, being thereby
polluted with our Blood. God hath given you
great Successes in many Places against our Ene-
mies, and sometimes he is pleased to give our
Enemies Successes against us; in all of them,
whether of the one or the other Party, the Poor
English are still Sufferers. Whose goods (I
Pray Sir) are plundred? Whose Houses are
Burnt? Whose Limbs are cut or Shot off? Whose
Persons are thrown into loathsome Dungeons?
Whose Blood stains the Walls of our Towns,
and defiles our Land? Is it not all *English*? And
is it not then time for us, who are all *English-men*, to

*A Speech by
Whitlock,
on this de-
bate touch-
ing Propo-
sitions for
Peace.*

be-

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“ beware of these Discords, and to use our utmost
 “ Endeavours to put an end to them. I know,
 “ Sir, you are all here of the same Opinion with me
 “ in the same Point; and that was an unhappy
 “ Mistake of those who told us in the beginning of our
 “ Warfare, that it would be only enough to shew
 “ our selves in the Field with a few Forces, and then
 “ all would be presently ended, we have found it
 “ otherwise; let us now again seek to recover these
 “ Blessings of Peace, whereof we are told, that *ni-*
 “ *hil tam populare quam pax*, that nothing is than
 “ Peace more Gracious to be heard of, more plea-
 “ sing to be desired, and more profitable to be en-
 “ joyed. I am sorry we have so much and so sad
 “ Experience, as well as other Arguments, to
 “ Convince us of this Truth. You think it best to
 “ refer it to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, and
 “ you cannot find more Able Faithful Men to Trust
 “ in this Business; the Lords think fit that another
 “ Committee be named, to whom this may be refer-
 “ red. Whilst we differ upon and do not pursue
 “ Peace, I am perswaded, Sir, you can hardly Name
 “ any Committee, either within or without these
 “ Walls, but would be ready to take Pains to effect
 “ this good Work, unless it were those who
 “ have said, that if this War be well ma-
 “ naged it may last 20 Years: But these were not
 “ *Englishmen*; and altho’ we have *Irish*, *French*,
 “ *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, as well as other Papists, en-
 “ gaged for the Settlement of the Protestant Religion
 “ and Laws of *England*, yet I am perswaded, that
 “ his Majesty and you mutually endeavouring it (as it is
 “ both your Interest) none can hinder it. It is time,
 “ these Foreigners help to open the Veins wider;
 “ but a Peace will rid us of them, and stop
 “ the Issue of Blood; but if it bleed on still
 “ we must Faint, and perhaps become a Prey to
 “ Foreigners. Sir, I humbly move that we may
 “ endeavour, without more loss of time, to satisfie
 “ the Lords with Reasons that it is fittest to have
 “ this Matter referred to the Committee of Both
 “ Kingdoms. Yet if their Lordships should not be
 “ satisfied herein, let us Consent to name another
 “ Committee, rather than to suffer so desirable a
 “ Busi-

Business to be protracted; let us Consent to any Thing that is just, Reasonable, and Honourable, rather than in the least to neglect to seek Peace, and to ensue it.

This Speech having not the desired Effect, the Parliament's answer follows.

May it please your Majesty.

WE the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England*, taking into our Consideration a Letter sent from your Majesty, dated the 3d of *March* Instant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, (which, by the Contents of a Letter from the Earl of *Forth* unto the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, we conceive was intended to our selves) have resolved, with the Concurrent Advice and Consent of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to represent to your Majesty, in all Humility and Plainness, as followeth: That as we have used all Means for a Just and Safe Peace, so will we never be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring thereof; but when we consider the Expressions in that Letter of your Majesty's, we have more sad and despairing Thoughts of attaining the same than ever; because thereby those Persons now assembled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their Duty, have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal Condition with it. And this present Parliament, convened according to Known and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom (the Continuance whereof is establish'd by a Law consented to by your Majesty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the Scope and Intention of that Letter being to make Provision, how all the Members, as is pretended, of Both Houses, may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament; whereof no other Conclusion can be made, but that this present Parliament is not a full, nor free Convention; and that to make it a full and free Convention of Parliament, the presence of those is necessary, who notwithstanding that they have deserted

The two Houses Answer.

that

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‘ that Great Trust, and do levy War against the
 ‘ Parliament, are pretended to be Members of the
 ‘ Two Houses of Parliament.

‘ And hereupon we think our selves bound to
 ‘ let your Majesty know, that seeing the Continu-
 ‘ ance of this Parliament is settled by a Law,
 ‘ which (as all other Laws of your Kingdom) your
 ‘ Majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we
 ‘ are sworn to our Allegiance to your Majesty, (these
 ‘ Obligations being reciprocal) we must in Duty,
 ‘ and accordingly are resolv’d, with our Lives and
 ‘ Fortunes, to defend and preserve the Just Rights
 ‘ and Full Power of this Parliament; and do be-
 ‘ seech your Majesty to be assured, that your Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Royal and Hearty Concurrence with us
 ‘ herein will be the most effectual and ready
 ‘ Means of procuring a firm and lasting Peace in all
 ‘ your Majesty’s Dominions, and begetting a per-
 ‘ fect Understanding between your Majesty and
 ‘ your People: Without which, your Majesty’s
 ‘ most earnest Professions, and our most real Inten-
 ‘ tions concerning the same, must necessarily be
 ‘ frustrated. And in Case your Majesty’s Three
 ‘ Kingdoms should, by Reason thereof, remain in
 ‘ this Sad and Bleeding Condition, tending, by the
 ‘ Continuance of this Unnatural War, to their Ruin,
 ‘ your Majesty cannot be the least nor the last
 ‘ Sufferer. God in his Goodness incline your Roy-
 ‘ al Breast, out of Pity and Compassion to those
 ‘ deep Sufferings of your Innocent People, to put a
 ‘ Speedy and Happy Issue to these desperate Evils, by
 ‘ the joint Advice of Both your Kingdoms, now
 ‘ happily united in this Cause by their late Solemn
 ‘ League and Covenant; which as it will prove
 ‘ the surest Remedy, so it is the earnest Prayer of
 ‘ your Majesty’s Loving Subjects, the Lords
 ‘ and Commons assembled in the Parliament of
 ‘ England.

Westminster, the 9th
 of March, 1644.

Grey of Warke,
 Speaker of the House of Peers
 in Parliament *pro tempore*.
 William Lenthall,
 Speaker of the House of
 Commons in Parliament.
 The

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*Means
agreed upon
by the Lords
and Com-
mons at
Oxford to
raise Mo-
ney.*

The hope of Peace, by this kind of Interposition, did not in any degree make the Council remiss for the providing of Money to supply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than from a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not easily thought on; though there was a Considerable Part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarter, the Inhabitants were frequently infested by the Incursions of the Enemy, and almost as little secured against the Royal Troops, who begun to Practice all the Licence of War. The Nobility and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, liv'd for the most Part in *Oxford*; and all that they could draw from their Estates was but enough for their own Subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the People in General, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their Care was, that the Common People might be preserv'd from Burthens; and they were as careful not to expose the King's Honour or Name to Affronts and refusals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves. They appointed all the Members of the Commons 'to bring in the Names of 'all the Gentlemen of Estates, and other Persons, 'who were reputed to be Rich, within their several Precincts; and what Sum of Money every 'Body might be well able to supply the King 'with in this exigent of the Publick State. And 'then a form of a Letter was conceiv'd, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a Sum; the Letter to be Subscribed by the Two 'Speakers of the Houses, to the end that the People might know that it was by the Advice of the 'Members of Parliament assembled there; which 'was as much the Advice of Parliament, as could 'be deliver'd at that time in the Kingdom. When the Way and Method of this was approv'd by the Lords, and his Majesty likewise consented to it, they begun, the better to Encourage others, with themselves; and caused Letters to be sign'd and deliver'd to the several Members of Both Houses, for such Sums as they were well disposed to furnish; which were to that Proportion as gave good

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Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Persons of Condition who were in the Town. And by this Means there was a Sum raised in Ready Money, and Credit, that did supply many Necessary Occasions, near the Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, whereof some came in every Day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campaign; which, as the Spring came on was to be expected early, the Parliament at *Westminster* having raised vast Sums of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All who were to furnish Money upon the Letters, had Liberty to bring or send it in Plate, if that was for their Convenience; the King having called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coin'd such Plate as was brought in, his Majesty likewise made a Grant of some Forests, Parks, and other Lands, to certain Persons in Trust, for the securing of such Money as should be borrow'd, or those Persons who should be Bound for the Payment of such Money; and by this Means likewise many Considerable Sums of Money were procured, and Cloaths, and Shooes, and Shirts, were provided for the Army.

On the other Hand, the Two Houses at *Westminster* having at this time by an Ordinance laid an Imposition, which they called an Excise, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the Manner very Punctually and Methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the Wars, this Pattern being then printed, and published at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford* as a good Expedient to be follow'd by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be govern'd and regulated by Commissioners in the same Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Bristol*, and other Garrisons, it did yield a Reasonable Supply for the Provision of Armes and Ammunition; which, for the most Part, it was assign'd to; both Sides making ample Declarations, with bitter Reproaches upon the Necessity that drew on this Imposition, that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the War, and then laid down and utterly abolished.

And

And now it was that the Lords and Commons at Oxford published a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Westminster*; in which they mention'd 'all the indirect Passages, and the Acts of Violence, by which they had been driven thence; and the Obligations upon them in Conscience and Law to adhere to his Majesty; and the Misery which the other Party had already brought upon the Kingdom, and the Desolation which must inevitably follow those Conclusions: And declared.

1. 'That all such Subjects of *Scotland* as had consented to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concerning the present Expedition into *England*, had thereby denounced War against the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. 'That all his Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of *Scotland* as had or should enter upon any Part of his Majesty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, and Enemies to the State; and whosoever should Abet, Aid, or Assist the *Scots* in their Invasion, should be deemed as Traytors, and Enemies to the State.

3. 'That the Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster* that had given their Votes or Consent, to the raising of Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, or had been Abetting, aiding, or Assisting thereunto, had levied and raised War against the King, and were therein guilty of High Treason.

4. 'That those Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, that had given their Votes and Consents for the making and using a new Great Seal, had thereby Counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein committed High Treason.

5. 'That the Lords and Commons remaining at *Westminster*, who had given their Consent to the present coming in of the *Scots* in a Warlike manner, had therein committed High Treason: And

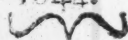
1644. ' that in these Three last Crimes they had Broken
 ' the Trust reposed in them by their Country, and
 ' ought to be proceeded against as Traytors to the
 ' King and Kingdom.

So that the Engagements seem'd fuller of Animo-
 sity on both Sides than ever; and the King ex-
 ceedingly strengthen'd by the Lords and Commons,
 having more positively and concernedly wedded his
 Cause than they were before understood to have
 done; and in Truth, in the Civil Councils, nothing
 was left undone to give it all Imaginable Advance-
 ment. In the mean time upon the *Scots* unexpected
 march into *England* in *January*, as aforesaid, who
 hoped to reach *Newcastle* before it could be Fortified,
 and perswaded their Common Soldiers that it
 would be deliver'd to them as soon as required;
 thither *Sir Thomas Glemham* had been before sent by
 the King to attend their Motion, and the Marquis
 of *New-castle* with his Army, upon the Fame of
 their Invasion, marched thither with a Resolution
 to Fight with them before they should be able to
 join with the *English*, leaving in the mean time the
 Command of *York*, and the Forces for the Guard of
 that Country, to Colonel *John Bellasis*, Son to the
 Lord *Falconbridge*, a Person of great Interest in the
 Country, and of exemplary Courage. But by this
 Means, and the remove of the Marquis with his
 Army so far North, the Enemy grew to a great
 strength in those Parts; and not only able to Dis-
 quiet *York-shire*, but drawing a great Body of Horse
 and Foot out of *Derby-shire*, *Stafford-shire*, and *Lin-
 coln-shire*, sat down before *Newmarke* upon *Trent*, with
 a full Confidence to take it; and so to cut off all
 Correspondence between his Majesty, and the Mar-
 quis of *New-castle*. And *Sir Thomas Fairfax* from
Hull, in the Head of a strong Party, had fallen upon
 a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colo-
 nel *John Ballasis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it,
 taken the Cannon, and many Officers Prisoners,
 and amongst those the Colonel himself. This was
 the first Action for which *Sir Thomas Fairfax* was
 taken Notice of; who in a short time grew the Su-
 preme General under the Parliament, and this De-
 feat, which indeed was great in it self, was made
 much

much greeater by the terrible Apprehensions the City of York had upon it; Infomuch that the Marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a Bay, found it necessary to withdraw his Army, and with great Part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther Mischief there; by which Means the Scots were at Liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fairfax improv'd his Reputation by a speedy, and unlook'd for march into Cheshire.

We have before mentioned the Cessation in Ireland, after which *Whitlock* says the Rebels of that Kingdom proposed to have confirmed to them the free Exercise of their Religion, that all Laws there against *Papists* might be repealed; that all the Lands belonging to Religious Houses might be restored; that their *Popish* Bishops and Hierarchy might be confirmed; and that *English* Protestant might pay Tithes to the *Popish* Priests: But to pass this Insolence over, the King thereupon appointed the Marquis of Ormond, his Lieutenant now of that Kingdom, to make use of the Winter Season (when the Parliament Ships could not attend that Coast) to transport some Regiments of Foot over to Chester; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the Spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord Byron then Commanded Chester, and that County, and was appointed to take Care for the Reception and Accommodation of those Troops, which was a right good Body of Foot; and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers, carried great Terror with them from the time of their Landing, and quickly freed North-Wales from the Parliament, who at that time begun to have great Power there. It was towards the end of November last when they Landed, and being a People who had been used to little Ease in Ireland, and the Season of the Year making little Impression on them, they were always ready and desirous of Action; and in the space of a Month reduced, by Assault and Storm, many Places of notable Importance, as *Howarden-*

1644.



The Irish
Forces
routed by
Sir Tho.
Fairfax at
Nantwich.

Castle, *Beefton*-Castle, *Crew*-House, and other Places of Strength; and encountering the whole Body of their Parliamentarians at *Middlewich* in *Cheshire*, broke and defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Survived, and were at Liberty, into *Nantwich*; the single Garrison they had then left in *Cheshire*: Into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garrisoned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only Refuge for those that favoured the Parliament in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Success, and the Terror the Soldiers believ'd their Names carried with them, hurry'd them at this most unseasonable Time of the Year thither; all which, together with a passionate desire of Honour, an Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their Relief, engaged them to raise Batteries, and undertake a Formal Siege against the Town. The Seventeenth Day of *January* they made a General Assault upon Five several Quarters of the Place, somewhat before Day-break, but were with equal Courage opposed from within, and near Three Hundred Men lost, or wounded in the Service: But those repulses sharpening rather than abating the Edge and Appetite to Danger; and the Assaultants, no less than the Besieged, desiring an Army would come for their Relief, both with equal Impatience longed for the same Thing; the *Irish* supposing themselves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them, in this their Confidence, Supply came too soon to the Town, and Confusion to the King's Forces: For Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Selby*, brought out of *Yorkshire* a good Body of Horse to *Manchester*; and out of that Place, and the Neighbouring Places, drew together near Three Thousand Foot, with which joining with Sir *William Bruerton*, and some other scatter'd Forces from *Staffordshire* and *Derby*, who had been routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich* before he was expected; the

Irish

Irish being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that though they had Advertisment of their Motion, they still believ'd that his utmost Design was by Alarms to force them from the Town, and then retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little River, which divided their Forces on a suddain Thaw, so much swelled above its Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greatest Part of the Horse, and the Foot which lay on the Side of the Town, were sever'd from the rest, and compelled to march Four or Five Miles, before he could join; before which time the other Par, being Charged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on the one Side, and from the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief Officers forced to retire to a Church called *Acton Church*, where they were caught as in a Trap; and the Horse, by reason of the deep Ways with the suddain thaw and narrow Lanes and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves Prisoners to those whom they so much despised but Two Hours before. There were taken, besides all the Chief Considerable Officers of Foot, near Fifteen Hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon and Carriages: The Lord *Byron*, with his Horse, and the rest of his Foot, retiring to *Chester*.

We find by my Lord *Cl*—— that there was another Result of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter Season, which deserves to be mention'd; and the rather, because all the Inducements thereunto were not generally understood nor known to many; and grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the *Scots* were visibly Arm'd, and upon their March into *England*, which the King was the last Man in believing; and when there was no Way to stop, or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some Men of that Nation, who had been long proposing a Way to give them so much Trouble at Home, that they should not be at Leisure to infect or Trouble their Neighbours.

1644.
*The Earl
 of Mont-
 trose comes
 to the
 King, and
 informs
 him of the
 State of
 Scotland.*

bours; the Earl of *Mountrose*, a Young Man of a great Spirit, and of the most Ancient Nobility, had been one of the most Principal and Active Covenanters in the beginning of the Troubles, but soon after, upon his Observation of the unwarrantable Prosecution of it, he gave over that Party and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the Pacification, had made full Tender of his Service to his Majesty; and was so much in the Jealousie and Detestation of the opposite Party, whereof the Earl of *Argile* was the Head, that there was no Cause of Room left to doubt his Sincerity to the King. Now upon the beginning of the Parliament at *Edenborough*, and the Manifestation that *Duke Hamilton* would give no Opposition to the Proceedings thereof, *Montrose* privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few Days before the Siege was raised from *Gloucester*, and gave his Majesty the first clear Information of the Carriage and Behaviour of *Duke Hamilton*, and of the Resolutions that would be there taken, and made some smart Propositions to the King for the Remedy, which there was not then time to consult. But as soon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller Intelligence, by the resort of others of that Nobility who deserv'd to be trusted, how the Affairs stood in *Scotland*, and heard that *Duke Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon the Way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*, his Majesty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountrose* and the rest, what could be done to prevent that Mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, 'that they durst make no Propositions for the advancement of the King's Service, except they might be first assured, that no Part of it should be communicated to *Duke Hamilton*, nor he suffer'd to have any Part or Share in any Action that should depend upon it; for they were most assured that he had always Betray'd his Majesty; and that it had

‘ had been absolutely in his Power, to have prevented this new Combination, if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they might be secure in that particular, they would make some such Attempt under his Majesty’s Commission in their own Country, as might possibly make some Disturbance there. His Majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the Duke than formerly ; for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do ; yet he thought he had not Ground enough to withdraw all kind of Trust from him, except he did, at the same time, secure him from being able to do him farther Mischief ; towards which kind of Severity he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides, he had a very good Opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much more Plainness and Sincerity than his Brother, as indeed he was. But that he might come to a full Resolution in this Important Affair, he appointed the Lord Keeper, his Two Secretaries, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountrose*, the Earl of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and some others, upon Oath, of all things they could accuse Duke *Hamilton*, or his Brother *Lanrick* of ; and to take their Examinations in writing, that so he might discover whether their Errors proceeded from Infidelity, and consider the better what Course to observe in his Proceedings with them ; and this was carried with as much Secrecy, as an Affair of that Nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

Upon their Examination, there appear’d too much Cause to conclude that the Duke had not behaved himself with that Loyalty as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountrose*, whilst he had been of that Party, had been privy to much of his Correspondence, and Intelligence. But most of the Particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frish*, and when he had many Conferences with his Mother, (who was a Woman most passionate in those Contrivances) and with others of that Party ; and when he did nothing to

1644.

to hurt or incommoed the Enemy; all which was expressly pardon'd by the Act of Oblivion, which had been pass'd with all Formality and Solemnity by the King in the Parliament of Both Kingdoms: And so much as to Question what was so forgot, might raise a greater Fire than that which they desired to quench; through the knowing so many Particulars might be a good and proper Caution. In the late Transaction of *Scotland* it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all Overtures of Force, and of seizing those Persons who could only be able to raise new Troubles, which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betray'd the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, call'd and summon'd against the King's express Pleasure and Command, and without any Pretence of the Law. And to this the King's Approbation and Consent had been shewed to them, by the Duke under the King's own Hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the Mischief. And the Case was thus; the Duke had given the King an Account after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled 'that though
' some few hot passionate Men desired to put
' themselves in Arms, to stop both Elections of
' the Members and any meeting together in
' Parliament; yet that all Sober Men, who could
' bear any considerable Part in the Action, were
' clearly of the Opinion to take as much Pains
' as they could to cause good Elections to be
' made, and then to appear themselves; and that
' they had Hope to have such a Major Part,
' that they might more advantageously dissolve
' the Meeting as soon as they came together, than
' prevent it; however, that then would be the
' fit time to protest against it, and immediately
' to put themselves into Arms, for which they
' would be well provided at the same time; and
' to this he desired the King's positive Direction.
' And his Majesty, in Answer to it, had said,
' since it was the Opinion of all his Friends, he
' would not Command them to do that which

'was

‘ was against their Judgment, but would attend the Success; and was content that they should appear in the Parliament at its first meeting: And the Duke had shewed the Lords those Words in the King’s Letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the Ground of such his Permission: Whereas in truth there was no one Person, who was of that Opinion, or had given that Counsel, but had still detested the Expedient when proposed.

Then the Duke’s Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brothers at their first meeting, appear’d to be thus; and the Earl of *Lanrick*’s applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any Excuse; and so the clear State of the Evidence, upon the Depositions of the Persons examined, was presented to the King for his own Determination. His Majesty had some Thoughts of sending to the Marquis of *Newcastle* to stop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in Deliberation they both came to *Oxford*, and intended the same Night to have kissed their Majesty’s Hands, but as soon as they arriv’d they receiv’d a Command from the King ‘to keep their Chambers; and ‘had a Guard that attended them. The King resolv’d to consult the whole Affair then with the Council Board, whereas hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might resolve what Way to proceed, and to that purpose directed that a Transcript might be prepared of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary: His Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the Dispositions read, and the Witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the Second Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*, either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a Means to escape; and by the assistance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and of that Nation) had

1644.

Duke
Hamilton
made Pri-
soner at
Oxford.

Mr. Pym's
death.

His Cha-
racter by
Cl——

had Horses ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled, and went directly to *London*, where he was well receiv'd. Hereupon the King inform'd the Board of the whole Affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the Matters against the other having been transacted in *Scotland*, and so, in many respects, it was not a Season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther Mischief, by putting him under a secure Restraint: And so he was sent in Custody to the Castle at *Bristol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and so to the Castle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*, where we shall at the present leave him.

About this time the Councils at *Westminster* lost a principal Supporter, by the Death of Mr. Pym, who died with great Torment and Agony of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *Morbus pediculofus*, which render'd him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him, according to the Relations transmitted to us by the Cavaliers; but if we rely upon the Credit of Mr. *Ludlow*, his Body was several Days exposed to Publick View in *Derby-House* before it was interred, in Confutation of those who reported it to be eaten with Lice. No Man, says Cl——, had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand or Head deeper in their Contrivance. And yet he believes they grew much higher even in his Life, than he designed. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education was in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired by Industry, than supplied by Nature, or adorned by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few who had fate in many; the long Intermision of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the Rules and Orders observ'd in those Conventions. This gave him some Reputation and Reverence amongst those who were but now introduced. He had been concerned and passionate in the Jealousies of Religion, and much troubled with

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with the Countenance which had been given to those Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Interest with those who were not pleased with the Government of the Church, or the growing Power of the Clergy: Yet himself industriously took Care to be believ'd, and he profess'd to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In the short Parliament before this he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading Man; for besides the exact Knowledge of the Former, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely grave Way of expressing himself, with great volubility of Words, natural, and proper; and understood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man, and had observ'd the Errors and Mistakes in Government, and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most Part about *London*, in Conversation and great Repute amongst those Lords who were most Strangers to the Court, and were believ'd most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable Jealousies, and Discontents towards the State; and as soon as this Parliament was resolv'd to be summon'd, he was as diligent to procure such Persons to be elected, as he knew to be most inclined to the Way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this Parliament, he appear'd passionate, and prepared against the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private designing he was much govern'd by Mr. *Hambden* and Mr. *Saint John*, yet he seem'd to have the greatest Influence upon the House of Commons of any Man; and in truth he was at that time, and some Months after, the most Popular Man, and the most able to do Hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first Design of softning and obliging the Powerful Persons in Both Houses, when it was resolv'd to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord high Treasurer of *England*, the King likewise intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor
of

1644.

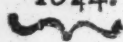
of the Exchequer; for which he receiv'd his Majesty's Promise, and made a return of a suitable Profession of his Service and Devotion; and thereupon the other being no Secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the House, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made some Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendour of the Crown; in which he had so ill Success, that his Interest and Reputation there visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the Violence and Discomposure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end whether, upon the Death of the Earl of Bedford, he despaired of that Preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing which upon his Conversion to the Court he thought might be discover'd to his Damage, or for pure want of Courage, he suffer'd himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the Head of those who made the most desperate Propositions.

In the Prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was such as express'd much Personal Animosity; and he was accused of having practis'd some Arts in it not worthy a good Man; as an *Irish* Man of very mean and low Condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him as an Evidence of one Part of the Charge against the Lord Lieutenant, in a Particular of which a Person of so vile Quality would not be reasonably thought a competent Informer, Mr. *Pym* gave him Money to Buy him a Sattin Suit and Cloak; in which Equipage he appear'd at the Trial, and gave his Evidence; which if true may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him to be believ'd; as that he receiv'd a great Sum of Money from the *French* Ambassador (formerly mention'd) to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders* upon the Disbanding that Army there. Certain it is, that his Power of doing shrew'd Turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good Offices for particular

cular Persons; and that he did preserve many from Censure, who were under the severe Displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as Eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believ'd that he had Sold that Protection for valuable Considerations. From the time of his being accused of High Treason by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertain'd Thoughts of Moderation, but always oppos'd all Overtures of Peace and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Essex* was dispos'd the last Summer by those Lords to an Inclination towards a Treaty, Cl—— goes on and says, Mr. *Pym*'s Power and Dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that Temper which he afterwards swerv'd not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Assistance, though his Indisposition of Body was so great, that it might well have made another Impression upon his Mind. During his Sickness he was a very sad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurr'd with him, it is not known what his last Thoughts and Considerations were. He died towards the end of *December*, or beginning of *January*, before the *Scots* enter'd, and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that Place where the Bones of our *English* Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

The Arrival of the Prince Elector Palatine at *London* was no less the Discourse of all Tongues, *Elektor Palatine at London* than the Death of Mr. *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was receiv'd and cherish'd by the King with great Demonstration of Grace and Kindness, and supplied with a Pension of Twelve *and takes the Covenant.* Thousand Pounds Sterling Yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him till the Differences grew so high that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then on the sudden, without giving the King many Days Notice of his Resolution, that Prince left the Court, and taking the Opportunity of an ordinary Vessel, embarked himself for *Holland*, to the Wonder of all Men. And this was the more spoken of, when it

1644.



it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good Sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his Conscience, 'that he knew of 'some such Designs of his Majesty as he could not 'comply with. At this time, after many loud Discourses of his coming, he arriv'd at *London*, and was receiv'd with Ceremony, Lodged in *White-Hall*, and Order taken for the Payment of that Pension which had been formerly assigned to him from his Majesty; and a particular Direction by Both Houses, 'that he should be admitted to sit in the 'Assembly of Divines, where after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often Present: Of all which the King took no other Notice than sometimes to express, 'that he was sorry on 'his Nephews Behalf, that he thought fit to declare 'such a Compliance.

The Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis* at *Salby* before mention'd by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Destruction of all the *Irish* Regiments under the Lord *Byron*, together with the Terror of the *Scotch* Army, had so let loose all the King's Enemies in the Northern Parts, which were lately at the King's Devotion, that his Friends were in great Distress in all Places, before the Season was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancashire* in reasonable Subjection, was no longer able to continue that Restraint. *Newark*, a very necessary Garrison in the County of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the Matter confin'd within its own Walls, but had kept a great Part of the large County of *Lincoln* under Contribution, was now reduced to so great Streights by the Forces of that Country under the Command of *Meldrum*, that they were compell'd to beg Relief from the King at *Oxford*; who found it necessary to send Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of choice Horse and Dragoons, and some Foot, with direction, after he had visited *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, and used all possible Endeavours to make new Levies, to attempt the Relief of it: The Garrison consisted most of the Gentry of the Country, and the Inhabitants ill supplied with any thing requisite to a Siege. The Enemy entrench'd themselves before the Town, and

Prince Rupert re-
lieves New-
wark,
March. 22

and proceeding by Approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturb'd: But the Prince made so much haste, that he was within Six Miles of them before they thought of him; and Charging and Routing some of their Horse, pursued them with that Expedition, that he beleagued them in their own Intrenchment with his Horse, before his Foot came within Four Miles. In that Consternation they concluded that he must have a vast Power and Strength to bring them into those Streights, while he with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of Time, brought them to accept of Leave to depart, that is, to Disband without their Arms, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he reliev'd *Newark*, and took above Four Thousand Arms, Eleven Pieces of Brass Cannon, Two Mortar pieces, and above Fifty Barrel of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory as any happen'd throughout the War: This prosperous Action was perform'd on the 22d of *March*, and we shall say no more of it.

However, as the Winter had been in the main very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the King, so the Spring enter'd with no better Presage. When both Armies had enter'd into their Winter Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much Fatigue, the great Preparation that was made at *London*, and the Fame of sending Sir *William Waller* into the *West*, put the King upon the Resolution of having such a Body in his Way as might give him Interruption, without Prince *Maurice's* being disturb'd in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time raised a pretty Body of Foot and Horse; to which receiving an Addition of Two very good Regiments out of *Munster*, under the

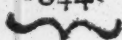
Command of Sir *Charles Vavasour*, and Sir *John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horse under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported out of *Ireland* to *Bristol*, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and shortly after to *Winchester*; whither Sir *John Bertley* brought him Two Regiments more of Foot, raised by him in *Devonshire*; so that he had in all, at least, Three Thousand Foot and about Fifteen Hundred Horse; which, in so good a Post as *Winchester* was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable Army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped or attended *Waller* in his Western Expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an Obstruction in his Way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was inform'd of the Lord *Hopton's* being at *Winchester* with such a Strength, he retired to *Farnham*, and Quarter'd there, till he gave his Masters an Account that he wanted other Supplies:

On the other Side, *Hopton* was no sooner possessed of *Winchester*, where Sir *William Ogle* had likewise seized upon the Castle for the King, and put it into a tenable Condition, than the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and of the adjacent Parts of *Hampshire*, sent privately to him, 'that if he would advance into their Country, they would undertake in a short time to make great Levies of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewise to possess themselves of such Places as they should be well able to defend, and thereby keep that Part of the Country in the King's Obedience. Sir *Edward Ford* a Gentleman of a good Family, and fair Fortune in *Sussex*, had then a Regiment of Horse in the Lord *Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of *Sussex* that Year, to the end that if there were Occasion he might the better make impression upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all besought the Lord *Hopton*, 'that he would since *Waller* was not like to Advance, at least send some Troops into

‘ into those Parts, to give a little Cauntenance
 ‘ to the Levies they should be well able to make ;
 ‘ assuring him, ‘ that they would in the first Place
 ‘ seize upon *Arundel-Castle*, which standing near the
 ‘ Sea, would yeild great Advantage to the King’s Ser-
 ‘ vice, and keep that Rich Corner of the Country at his
 ‘ Majesty’s Devotion. These, and other specious Un-
 ‘ dertakings, disposed the Lord *Hopton*, who had
 an extraordinary Appetite to engage *VValler* in a
 Battle, upon old Accounts, to wish himself at Li-
 berty to comply with those Gentlemen’s Desires :
 Of all which he gave such an Account to the
 King, as made it appear that he liked the Design,
 and thought it practicable, if he had an Additi-
 on of a Regiment or Two of Foot, under good
 Officers : Whereupon the King gave *Hopton* order
 to prosecute his Design upon *Sussex*, in such
 manner as he thought fit ; provided that he was
 well assured, that *VValler* should not make Ad-
 vantage upon that Enterprize, to find the Way open
 to him to march into the *VVest*. And that he
 might be the better able to prosecute the one,
 and to provide for the other, Sir *Jacob Astley*
 was likewise sent to him from *Reading*, with a
 Thousand Men of that Garrison, *VVallingford*
 and *Oxford* ; which Supply no sooner arriv’d at
VVinchester, but he resolv’d to visit *VValler*’s Quarters
 at *Farnham* if it were possible to engage him ;
 however, that he might judge by the Posture he
 was in, whether he were like to pursue his Purpose
 for the *VVest*. *VValler* upon that drew out his
 Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended
 to Fight, but after some light Skirmishes for a Day
 or Two, in which he always receiv’d Loss, he
 retired himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place
 of some Strength, and drew his Army into the
 Town, and within Three or Four Days went himself
 to *London*, more effectually to sollicite Recruits, than
 his Letters had been able to do.

When *Hopton* saw that he could make no further
 Attempt upon those Troops, and was fully assured
 that *VValler* was himself gone to *London*, he con-
 cluded, that it was a proper time to comply with
 the Importunity of the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and

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 marched thither with such a Body of Horse and Foot as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easie through those deep dirty Ways than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any Imagination that he had that Place in his Prospect; its Situation was strong, and though the Fortifications were not Regular, but of the old Fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Grasse broad and deep; and though the Garrison was not Numerous enough to have defended all the large Circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects to have defied any sudden Assault, and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual or Ammunition was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded had not been accusom'd to the Prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easie and short Summons, that threaten'd his Obstinacy with a very Rigorous Chastisement, if he would defer the giving it up, either from the effect of his own Fear, and want of Courage, or from the good Inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was Surrender'd the Third Day, and appear'd to be a Place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army. The Command and Government thereof was given to Sir *Edward Ford*, High Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above Two Hundred Men, besides many good Officers.

The News of *VValler's* return to *Farnham* with strong Recruits of Horse and Foot, making it Necessary to the Lord *Hopton* to leave *Arundel*-Castle, before he had put it into the good Posture he intended, and without well considering the Mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easie to be govern'd, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the Condition of the Place required, or to use that Industry as the Exigence they were like to be in made Necessary, the Principal Thing he recommended and enjoin'd to them was, 'in the first Place,

'let-

- ‘ setting all other Things aside, to draw in store of
- ‘ Provisions of all kinds, both for the Numbers
- ‘ they were already, and for such as would pro-
- ‘ bably in a short time be added to them.

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In the Mean while *Waller's* Journey to *London* answer'd his Expectation; and his Presence had an Extraordinary Operation to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made Proportionable to encounter them; and the quick Progress that Lord had made in *Sussex*, and his taking *Arundel-Castle*, made them be thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a Place of that strength, which they supposed to have been Impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awaken'd all their Jealousies and Apprehensions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other Places; so that there needed no Importunate Sollicitation to provide a Remedy against this growing Evil. The Ordinary Method they had used for recruiting their Armies, by Levies of Voluntiers, and perswading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their Master's Service, would not now to do in such Exigence; they therefore resorted to the devoted City, to whose Affections the Person of Sir *William Waller* was most acceptable, and perswaded them immediately to cause Two of their strongest Regiments of Auxiliaries to march out of the Line to *Farnham*, which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to Sir *William Balfour*, with One Thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands, who with this great Addition of Forces made haste to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he scarce rested, but after he had inform'd himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quarter'd, at too great a distance from each other, he marched all the Night, and by the break of Day, encompass'd a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or Two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot

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of the King's lay in too much Security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and for the most Part made their escape to *VVincebster*, the Head Quarter, whither the Lord *Hopton* was return'd but the Night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about Five Hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *VVallingford*, when he found himself encompass'd by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other Resistance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, the Doors of which he had not time to Barricado, so that the Enemy enter'd almost assoon, and after a short Resistance, in which many were kill'd, the Soldiers threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offer'd to the Colonel, who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till, with the Death of Two or Three of the Assailants, he was kill'd in the Place. *VValler* knew well the Impression the Loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the Report which the Troops of Horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of Courage to their Fellows, and therefore with great Celerity, marched with all his Army to *Arundel-Castle*, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish and full of Faction; so that some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found Means again to send in to them, by which he so encreased their Faction and Animosity against one another, that after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, Three or Four Days, near half the Men being Sick, and unable to do Duty, they gave the Place and themselves up as Prisoners of War upon Quarter.

Upon the News the King received of the great Supply the Parliament had so suddenly sent to *VValler*, both from the Earl of *Essex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an Addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbouring Garrisons. And the Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had great Friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good
In-

Inclination to make him a Visit, rather than to sit still in his Winter Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in Trouble for the Loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected Assurance of the giving up of *Arundel-Castle*. He was exceedingly revived with the Presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops, which he as positively refused to do: As soon as they were inform'd that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and intended to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the Occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Farnham*, being in View, they chose the Ground upon which they meant the Battle should be Fought; of which *Waller* being first there, got the Advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about Five Thousand Foot, and Three Thousand Horse; and *Waller*, with Sir *William Balfour* exceeded in Horse, but they were upon the matter equal in Foot.

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The Battle
at Alres-
ford, Mar-
29.

The King's Horse never behaved themselves so ill as that Day. For the Main Body of them, after they had sustained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable Distance, and left their Principal Officers to shift for themselves. The Foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other Foot, but bore Two or Three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken, whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none, that Night to *Reading*: The Enemy being so scatter'd that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made haste to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon

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this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle, which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended, and so return'd with taking Revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Insolence and Rapine imaginable.

There could not, said the Cavaliers, then be any other Estimate made of the Loss *Waller* sustain'd than by the not pursuing the visible Advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary Regiments of *London* and *Kent* to march farther, who within Three or Four Days left him, and return'd to their Habitations, with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. Whereas the Parliamentarians would own they had lost no more than about an Hundred Men, but that the Royalists, besides the Loss of their Ordinance, Arms, Bag and Baggage had about 500 Men Slain, to say nothing of those that fell in the pursuit made by *Sir Aubur Haselrick*, On the other Hand the Royalists pass their Loss over in General Terms of Common Men, but that many good Officers fell that Day, and particularly the Lord *John Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army, and *Sir John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commissary General of the Horse. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horse that staid with them, and did their Duty, carried to *Reading*, and the next Day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Assistance of the best Remedies by Physicians and Surgeons. But they lived only to the Second dressing of their Wounds, which were very many upon both of them.

Lord J. Stewart's Character.

The former was a Young Man of extraordinary Hope, little more than One and Twenty Years of Age, who being of a more cholerick and rough Nature than the other Branches of that Illustrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the Softnesses of the Court, but had dedicated himself to the Profession of Arms, when he did not think the Scene should have been in his own Country. His Courage was so signal that Day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-lived it; and

and he was so generally Beloved that he could not but be very generally Lamented. The other, Sir *Jahn Smith*, had been train'd up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman Catholick Family, and had long the Reputation of one of the Best Officers of Horse. Assoon as the first Troubles appear'd in *Scotland* he betook himself to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own End perform'd many signal Actions of Courage.

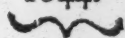
The Raising of the Siege of *Latham House* in *Lancashire* by Prince *Rupert* being not of an equal Poize with the Loss of this Battle, the beginning of the Campaign, had but a bad Aspect upon the King's Affairs; whereas the ruling Party of the Parliament discerning that their General, the Earl of *Essex*, would never serve their Turn, or comply with all their Desires, resolved to have another Army apart, that should be more at their Devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be sure to chuse such Officers as would probably not only observe their Orders, but have the same Inclinations with them. Their pretence was, ' that there were so many disaffected Persons of the Nobility, and ' Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Norfolk* and ' *Suffolk*, that if great Care was not taken to prevent ' it, there might a Body start up there for the King; ' which upon the Success of the Marquis of *New-* ' *castle*, whose Armies then reached into *Lincoln-* ' *shire*, might grow very formidable. For preven- ' tion whereof they had formed an Association be- ' tween *Essex*, *Cambridge-shire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, ' and *Huntington*; in all which they had many Persons of whose entire Affections they were well assured; and in most of them there were few considerable Persons who wished them ill. Of this Association ' they had made the Earl of *Manchester* General, to be Subject only to their own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of *Essex*. Under him they chose *Oliver Cromwel* to command their Horse, and many other Officers, who never intended to be Subject again to the King, and avow'd other Principles in Conscience and Religion, than had been before publickly declared. To this General they gave Order,

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to reside within that Association; and to make Levies of Men sufficient to keep those Countries in obedience: For at first they pretended no more. But in the Secret Treaty made by Sir Harry Vane with the Scots they were Bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into *York-shire* with their Army, that a Body of *English* Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body apart: The Scots not then trusting their own great Numbers, as equal to fight the *English*. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally to supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Essex*. And now according to their Agreement, upon the Scots first Entrance into *York-shire*, the Earl of *Manchester* had likewise Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the most Part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof Sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scottish* Parliament allways in that Army; there being also now a Committee of Both Kingdoms residing at *London* for the carrying on the War.

The Marquis of *Newcastle* being thus pressed on both Sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the Body of his Horse, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in those Places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the Enemy. Then he sent an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, that he doubted not to defend himself in that Post for the term of Six Weeks, or Two Months; in which time he hoped his Majesty would find some Way to relieve him. Upon receipt of this Letter, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that as soon as he had reliev'd the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refreshed his Men, he should march, with what Expedition he could, to relieve *York*; where being join'd with the Marquis of *New-castle's* Army, there was hope they might fight the Enemy: And his Majesty would

put



put himself into as good a Posture as he could to take the Field, without expecting the Prince. Wherefore about the middle of *April* he appointed his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*, where himself was present, and to his great Satisfaction, found the Body to consist, after all the Losses and Misadventures, of no less than Six Thousand Foot, and above Four Thousand Horse. There that Body remain'd for some Weeks, to watch and intend *Waller's* Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was possible.

While the King himself return'd to *Oxford*, where upon the desire of the Members of Parliament who had been call'd thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, say the Cavaliers in their several Counties satisfy the People of the King's Importunate desire of Peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament, and thereupon induce to contribute all they could to his Majesty's Assistance. But before the Recess he made this Speech to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Am now brought to you by your selves; for I should not so soon have parted with you if you had not desired it; and I believe that the same Zeal and Affection to me, and to your Country, which hath brought and staid you here, hath caused you to seek this Recess, that so by distributing your selves into several Countries, we may all the better reap the Fruits of our Consultations, wherefore in God's Name dispose of your selves as you think fit. I heartily thank you for what you have done, and fully approve of what you desire. I think most, if not all, of you are Engaged in my Service, either in a Civil or in a Martial Way. To you, that have Charge in my Armies, I commend the diligent Attendance on your Commands; that so by your good Example and Discipline, you may suppress Heresie and Disorders, which will discredit, and may destroy the Best Cause. And to you who are Engaged in the Civil Affairs, I must recommend these few Particulars, that you

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' expedite those Supplies of Moneys, which by your
 ' Advice I have sent for, whether by Subscription,
 ' or by Excise, remembering that Moneys are the
 ' Nerves of War. Likewise that you use your best
 ' Diligence for the Impressing of Men, and the En-
 ' couraging of Voluntiers; by shewing them that
 ' now the only Way to preserve themselves from
 ' Slavery, and their Country from Ruin, is freely to
 ' Engage their Persons. But chiefly, and with all
 ' possible Care to inform all my Subjects of the Bar-
 ' barity and Odiousness of this Rebellion, how Sol-
 ' licitous I have been for Peace, how Insolently and
 ' Scornfully it has been rejected; assuring them
 ' that my Armies are raised and kept only for the
 ' Defence of their Religion, Laws and Liberties,
 ' which being once secure and vindicated, I shall
 ' most Cheerfully lay them down. I have (God knows)
 ' with much unwillingness taken them up. Lastly,
 ' assure them that these Extraordinary Ways,
 ' which Necessity has produced, (and most of them
 ' not without your Consent or Advice) for my Sup-
 ' ply, shall not hereafter be brought in Example to
 ' their Prejudice, and I shall in the mean time
 ' do my best to Prevent and Punish all Exorbitances
 ' and Disorders. To conclude, my Lords and Gentle-
 ' men, I now again (never yet enough) thank you for
 ' your Great and Unanimous Expressions of your Af-
 ' fections to me, which hath laid an unexpressible
 ' Obligation upon me, and be assured, that there is
 ' no Profession, which I have made for the De-
 ' fence and Maintenance of your Religion, Laws and
 ' Liberties, which I will not unviolably observe.
 ' Now God who hath blessed this Meeting with an
 ' unexpected unanimity, (which I esteem as one
 ' not of his least Blessings) will, I hope, bring us
 ' safe together again the 8th Day of October next. In
 ' the mean time I shall be ready to receive any thing
 ' from your Committees that shall be desired.

It's acknowledged by the Opposite side that
 they went a great length with him, but were ill
 treated for it; that they voted the coming in
 of the Scots to be Treason and Rebellion; but that
 because they would not comply with his Desire in

voting the Members at *Westminster* to be no Parliament, he, in great Displeasure to them, and in his Letters to the Queen, called them his Mungrel Parliament.

But before we have entirely done with this Assembly at *Oxford*, it will not be out of Season in this Place to take notice of what Archbishop *Williams* told the King here, since it was so great a Presage of what afterwards came to pass to this unhappy Prince: *Hacket* in his Life of Bishop *Williams* is the Person that relates it thus; the Archbishop of *York* was amongst others summoned to *Oxford*, with whom the King privately consulted what Course was to be taken in the present Circumstances of his Affairs: Upon which the Archbishop advised him by all means to come to an Agreement with the Parliament; for since the *Scots* were come into *England* in such numerous Armies, and that the *English* on the Parliament Side had in the Two last Years acquired Military Knowledge, it would in all appearance be impossible for the King long to withstand their Forces; but above all, he advised him to get *Cromwel* over to his Side, if possible; otherwise to take him off by any Means, or else he would prove the King's Ruin.

But to come again to those Affairs that relate to the Field, there had been several Deliberations in the King's Council of War, and always very different Opinions what should be done with the Garrisons when the King should take the Field; and the King himself was irresolute upon those Debates what to do. He communicated the several Reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring his Advice; who after he had return'd Answers, and receiv'd Replies, made a hasty Journey to *Oxford* from *Chester*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolv'd that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Vallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading* and *Banbury*, should be reinforced, and strengthen'd with all the Foot; that a good Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*, and the rest should be sent into the West to Prince *Maurice*.

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But as it was even impossible to have administer'd such Advice to the King in the Streight he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient; so it was the Temper of those who were called to those Councils, that Resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal Resolution and Steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon Objections which had been answer'd before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of Objections, even after all was determined according to their own Proposals; others being positive, and not to be alter'd from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever, there were in the Affairs. And the King himself frequently consider'd more the Person who spoke, as he was in his Favour, or his Prejudice, than the Counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted, less to his own Judgment than he ought to have done.

The Persons with whom he only consulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (besides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horse; the Lord *Hopton*, who usually commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now present; Sir *Jacob Astley*, who was Major General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, those Two only excepted, were called to those Consultations; though some of them were still advis'd with, for the better Execution or Prosecution of what was then and there resolv'd.

Some Account of the Kings Generalls.

Earl of Brentford Characterized.

The General, according to *Cl——*, though he had been without doubt a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was still a Man of unquestionable Courage and Integrity, yet he was now much decayed in his Parts, and with the long-continued Custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate

literate to the greatest Degree that can be imagined. He was now become very Deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and usually deliver'd that as his Opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

Wilmot was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding; as never considering above one thing at once; but he consider'd that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had from the beginning of the War been very averse to any Advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be govern'd and conducted by the Soldiers, and Military Men; and that no other Counsellors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great Prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: And the King himself, upon some former Account and Observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or Esteem of his Parts. But now, [by the Prince's absence, and being the Second Man in the Army, and the Contempt he had of the Old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose Advice ought to be followed and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good Fellowship, (in every Part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself so popular with all the Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, that he had in Truth a very great Interest, which he desired might appear to the King; that he might have the more Interest in him. He was positive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most Contradicted by the Two Privy

Lord Wil-
mot.

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Privy Counsellors, the Secretary, and the Master of the Rolls, who he saw had the greatest Influence upon the King, he used all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them what they had said in Council, which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and in the Times of Jollity perswaded the Old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Business of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the Trouble of converting him.

Lord Hopton.

The Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhorred enough the Licence and the Levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good Understanding, a clear Courage, and Industry not to be tired, and a Generosity that was not to be exhausted; a Virtue that none of the rest had: But in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his Mind after he had resolv'd, than was agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which render'd him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supream Command in an Army.

Sir Jacob Astley.

Sir Jacob Astley was an Honest, Brave, Plain Man, and as fit for the Office he Exercised of Major General of the Foot as Christendom yielded, and was so generally esteem'd; very Discerning and Prompt in giving Orders as the Occasions required, and most Chearful and Present in any Action. In Council he used few, but very pertinent Words, and was not at all pleased with the long Speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his Understanding: So that he rather collected the Ends of the Debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own Discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own Mind.

The Two Privy Counsellors, though they were of the most different Natures and Constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their Opinions;

nions ; and being in their Parts much Superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's Judgment to like what they approved : Yet one of them, who had in those Cases the Ascendant over the other, had that Excess of Fancy, that he too often upon his own recollecting and revolving the Grounds of the Resolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggestions of other Men, changed his own Mind, and thereupon caused Orders to be alter'd, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniencies.

The King's Army had lain above Three Weeks at and about *Newbury* ; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved beyond what they had been upon their Muster near *Marlborough*, when the King was present. But when it was known that Both the Parliament Armies were marched out of *London* ; that under *Essex* to *Windsor*, and that of *Valler* to the Parts between *Hertford-Bridge* and *Basing*, without any Purpose of going farther West, the King's Army marched to *Reading*, and in Three Days they slighted and demolished all the Works of that Garrison : And then about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of those Soldiers, which encreased the Army Five and Twenty Hundred Old Soldiers more, very well Officer'd, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, where the King resolv'd to stay till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended ; which was not so easie as it had formerly been. For since the junction with the *Scottish* Commissioners in one Council for the carrying on the War, little Business was brought to be Consulted in either of the Houses, and there was much greater Secrecy than before ; few or none being admitted into any Kind of Trust, but they whole Affections were known to concur entirely in their Counsels. The Intention was, that the Two Armies, which marched out together, should afterward be distinct ; and should only keep together, till it appear'd what Course the King intended to take ; and if he staid in *Oxford*, it would be fit for Both to be in the Siege ; the Circumvallation being very great, and to be divided

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in many Places by the River ; which would keep Both Armies still afunder under feveral Officers. But if the King march'd out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the Purpose was, that the Earl of *Essex* should follow the King, where-ever he went ; which, they imagined, would be Northward ; and that *Waller* should march into the West, and subdue that. So that having so substantially provided for the North, by the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Manchester* ; and having an Army under the Earl of *Essex*, much Superior in Number to any the King could be attended with ; and the Third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West, they promised themselves, and reasonably enough, that they should make an End of the War that Summer.

The Earl of *Essex*'s Army consisted of all his old Troops, which had Winter'd about *St. Albans* and in *Bedfordshire* ; and being now encreased with Four Regiments of the Trained-bands and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than Ten Thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise receiv'd a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suffex* ; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Essex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King's Army retired from *Reading*, the Horse Quarter'd about *Wantage* and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it ; towards which *Essex* advanced with his Army, and upon the East Part of the Town, which the Royalists were no sooner advertis'd of, but the General, early the next Morning, marched with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat : And all this done, before his Majesty had the least Notice or Suspicion of it. Of which his Majesty express'd a great dislike, and sent to command the General to stay, and not to Advance till his Majesty came to him ; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the Messenger could return, the Army was within sight of *Oxford* ; and so the Foot was drawn through the City,

City, and the Horse Quarter'd in the Villages about the Town.

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So that the Parliaments Forces were Masters of *Berkshire*, and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horse and Foot on the North Side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to consider how to keep *Oxford* it self from being Besieged, and the King from being inclosed in it. And indeed it was generally reported at *London* that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Prisoner; and others more confidently gave it out, that his Majesty resolv'd to come to *London*: Of which the Parliament was not without some Apprehension, though not so much as of the King's putting himself into the Hands of the Earl of *Essex*, and into his Protection: Which they did not at all like and this troubled them so much, that the Committee of Both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to their General.

My Lord,

WE are credibly inform'd that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you that you will do your Endeavour to inform your self of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction.

Committee's Letter to Essex.

So much Jealousie they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do, who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Encrease, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby*, and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, a little Fisher Town, which after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out than it was the first Day he came before it. In this Perplexity the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol*, to provide better for the Security of that Important City; where he knew *VValler* had many Friends; and himself resolv'd yet to stay at

Oxford, till he saw how the Two Armies would dispose themselves; that when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might Fight with one of them, which was the greatest Hope he had now left. Some of *VValler's* Forces attempted to pass the *Isis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulsed by the King's Dragoons. But the next Day *Effex*, with his whole Army, got over the *Thames* at *Sanford-Ferry*, and marched to *Islip*.

The next Morning a strong Party of the Earl's Army endeavour'd to pass over the *Cherwel*, at *Gosworth-Bridge*, but were repulsed by the Musketeers with very considerable loss, and so retired to their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged with his whole Army, on the *East Side* of the River *Cherwel*, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy Assistance to or from *VValler*, the King resolv'd to attempt the repossessing himself of *Abingdon*, to take the Opportunity to Fight with *VValler* singly, before he could be reliev'd from the other Army. In order to this all the Foot were in the Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Passes, and marched through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abingdon*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any Bold Enterprize, advanced with a Party of One Hundred and Fifty Horse to the Town itself, where there were a Thousand Foot, and Four Hundred Horse of *VValler's* Army, and enter'd the same, and kill'd many, and took some Prisoners: But upon the Alarm he was so overpower'd that his Prisoners escaped, and so both the Attempt upon *Abingdon* was over, and the Design of Fighting *VValler* laid aside, and the Army return'd again to their old Post. Sir *Jacob Astley* undertook the Command himself at *Gosworth-Bridge*, where he perceiv'd the Earl intended to force his Passage, and presently cast up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for a Defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy the Second Time, very much to their Damage and Loss; who renew'd their Assault Two or Three Days together,

ther, and planted Cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little Hurt; but they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other Side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended; but overpowering those Guards, having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they, got that Passage over River *Isis*: By which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other Side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own Security, and to escape the Danger he was in of being shut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next Day passed over Five Thousand Horse and Foot, by *Newbridge*: The Van whereof Quarter'd at *Ensam*; and the King's Foot being drawn off from *Gosworth-Bridge*, *Effex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwel*, and Quarter'd that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horse advancing to *Woodstock*; so that the King seem'd to them to be perfectly shut in between them; his Condition seem'd so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most Secret Affairs, and whose Fidelity was never suspected, *The Earl of* propos'd to him to render himself, upon Con-*Effex* ditions, to the Earl of *Effex*, which his Ma-*marches* jesty rejected with great Indignation; yet had *towards* the Goodness to conceal the Name of the Pro-*the West*; poser; and said, 'that possibly he might be found in the Hands of the Earl of *Effex*, but he would be dead first. Word was given for the Horse to be together, at such an Hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, march'd through the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which it was concluded that Both Armies would be amus'd, and *Waller* induced to draw back over *Newbridge*: And as soon as it was Evening the Foot and Cannon return'd to their old Post on the North Side. All things being in this Order, on Monday the Third of June, about Nine of the Clock at Night, the King leaving the Duke of *York* at *Oxford*, with the Prince, and those Lords, and others who were

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were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the *North Gate*, attended by his own Troop, to the Place where the Horse and commanded Foot waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the Two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, some Miles beyond all their Quarters. Yet rested not till the Afternoon, when he found himself at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no Danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: But yet not being without Apprehension that he might be follow'd by a Body of the Enemy's Horse, about Nine of the Clock he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotswold*, and by Midnight reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied Troops, more Rest and Refreshment.

In short, all the Parliaments General could do to overtake the King, proving fruitless, the Earl of *Essex* call'd a Council of all the Principal Officers of Both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolv'd, that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, and the less Carriages, should have such an Addition of Forces, as *Massey*, the Governour of *Gloucester*, should be able to furnish him with, and so should pursue and follow the King wheresoever he should go; and the Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of relieving *Lyme*, and reducing the West to the Obedience of the Parliament. *Waller* opposed this Resolution all he could; and urged some Order and Determination of the Committee of Both Kingdoms in the point; and, that the *West* was assign'd to him, as his Province, when the Two Armies should think fit to sever from each other: However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, to march according to the Advice of the Council of War; which he durst not disobey

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disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster* were so incensed against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very Angry and Imperious Letter to him, in which they reproached him 'for not submitting to the Directions which they had given; and required him 'to follow their former Directions, and 'and to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service of 'the *West*. Which Letter was brought to him before he had marched above Two Days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to obey their Order; and writ to them, that their Directions had been contrary 'to the Discipline of War, and to Reason; and 'that if he should now return, it would be a 'great Encouragement to the Enemy in all Places 'and Subscribed his Litter, 'your Innocent, though 'Suspected Servant, *Essex*; and then prosecuted 'his Resolution, and continued his March for the West.

When *Waller* found there was no Remedy, he obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigour; and prosecuted his March towards *Worcester*, where his Majesty then was; and in his Way brought the Garrison of *Sudly* Castle, the strong House of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that Place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a Young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for Two Years, serv'd the King very Bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horse, which himself had raised at his own Charge; but had lately, out of the pure weariness of the Fatigue, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King under pretence of Travel; but making *London* his Way, he gave himself up to the Pleasures of that Place; which he enjoy'd, without considering the Issue of the War, or shewing any Inclination to the Parliament. Nor did he, in any Degree, contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagined, because it was ill, or not at all defended. it was under the Government of Sir *William Morton*, a Gentleman

Waller
marches
towards
Worcester
after the
King.
Lord
Chandois
his Character.

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tleman of the Long Robe ; who, in the beginning of the War, cast off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and serv'd as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandois* ; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had receiv'd many Wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected, and his Fidelity as little question'd ; and after many Years of Imprisonment sustain'd with great Firmness and Constancy, he liv'd to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King, who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench ; where he sat many Years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning ; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High-way. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition, march'd to *Evesham*, where the Inhabitants receiv'd him willingly ; and had, as soon as the King left them, repaired their Bridge over the *Avon* to facilitate his coming to them, which he could not else so soon have done.

The King rested some Days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much refreshed his Troops, which were there spared from doing Duty ; and likewise procured both Shoes, and Stockings, and Money, for the Soldiers : And then upon good Information that *Waller* was march'd out of *Evesham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King removed with his little Army to *Bewdley*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between him and the Enemy ; the Foot being Quarter'd together at *Bewdley*, and the Horse by the Side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The Posture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern Parts. And it is true, that without any such Resolution Orders were sent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garrisons, that they should make all possible Provisions of Corn, and other Victuals, which they

* they should cause in great Quantities to be brought thither; but suddenly the King took a Resolution to return with all Expedition to *Worcester* and to make haste to *Evesham*; where having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his Back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to join with that Part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*, and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and prosecute any other Design; in order to which Care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth* and *Worcester*, that the Foot might with the more speed and ease be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch that the next Day, being embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arriv'd so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have march'd that Night to *Evesham*; but that many of the Horse, which were Quarter'd beyond *Berkeley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that Both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*, which they did accordingly.

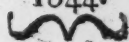
The next Morning he march'd very fast to *Evesham*, where he would not stay, but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge, and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay Two Hundred Pounds for their Alacrity in the Reception of *Waller*, and likewise compelled them to deliver a Thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers; which without any long pause was submitted to and perform'd. Then the Army march'd that Night to *Broadway*, where they Quarter'd; and early the next Morning, they mounted the Hills near *Camden*; about which time the King sent Colonel *Fielding*, and lest he might miscarry, Two or Three other Messengers, to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, to let them know of his happy Return; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford*, and the next at *Whitney*; where he did expect, that all his Foot, with their

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‘ their Colours and Cannon, would meet him; and who, during his Absence had recovered *Bostal-House*, not far from *Aylesbury* from the Enemy.

On the other Hand, the Earl of *Essex*, by slow and easie Marches, and without any Opposition or Trouble, enter’d into *Dorsetshire*; and by his great Civility and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Discipline in his Army wrought very much upon the People; insomuch that his Forces rather encreased than diminished; which had during his being before *Oxford*, been much lessen’d, not only by the Numbers which were kill’d and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the Encounters continued at *Gosworth-Bridge*. It can hardly be imagin’d how great a Difference there was in the Humour, Disposition, and Manner of the Army under *Essex* and the other under *Waller*, in their Behaviour and Humanity towards the People, and consequently in the Reception they found among them; the Demeanour and Carriage of those under *Waller* being much more Ungentlemanly and barbarous, than that of the other: Besides that the People in all Places werenot without some Affection, and even Reverence, towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the Memory of his Father, had been always universally Popular.

When he came to *Blandford*, he had a great Mind to make himself Master of *Weymouth*, and yet without engaging his Army before it, which he resolv’d not to do; Colonel *Ashburnham*, the Governour of the Place, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage and Dexterity; and to make Way for him, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been the Year before removed from that Charge; and was thereby so much disoblged, that he quitted the King’s Party, and gave himself up to the Service of the Parliament, with much Animosity against the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been Intent upon other Things, and not enough Sollicitous to finish the Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defie an Army, yet too strong to be deliver’d upon the Approach of one. The less



is to be said of this Matter, because the Governour afterwards pressed to have the whole examin'd before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the Hand of Prince Maurice, 'that the Town being untenable, he should, 'upon the advance of the Earl of Essex, put a 'sufficient Strength into Portland-Castle, and retire thither; which he had done, and was, by the Council of War, absolv'd from any Crime. However, he lost Reputation by it, and was thought to have left the Town too soon, though he meant to have return'd again after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the Townsmen mutiny'd, and sent to the Earl of Essex, when he was near the Town, to Surrender; who gave the Garrison leave to march with their Arms to Prince Maurice, and so became Master of Weymouth; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence Prince Maurice, upon the News of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a Body of full Five and Twenty Hundred Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of Five Hundred Men into Wareham, and with some loss of Reputation, for having lain so long with such a Strength before so mean and untenable a Place. without reducing it.

Weymouth deliver'd to the Earl of Essex.

As soon as the King had join'd his Army at Whitney, which now consisted of full Five Thousand Five Hundred Foot, and very near Four Thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolv'd to quit his own Quarters, which had been too much wasted by Friends and Enemies, and to visit the Enemy's Country, and so the next Day he marched towards Buckingham. While he staid in this Town, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy, (his Troops every Day bringing in Store of Provisions, and being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Grocery, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure Roads, from

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from London to Coventry, and Warwick; all which were very welcome to Buckingham) a new and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill Humour and Faction in his own Army. Willmot continued still fullen and perverse, and every Day grew more insolent, and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord Digby, and the Master of the Rolls, that he perswaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obey'd, to join in a Petition to the King, that those Two Counsellors might be excluded, and be no more present in Councils of War; which they promised to do. Waller remain'd still in *Worcestershire*: upon which it was again Consulted. what the King was to do. Some propos'd the marching presently into the Associated Counties; others to lose no time in endeavouring to join with Prince Rupert. Willmot, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advis'd, that they might presently march towards London, and now both their Generals and Armies were far from them, make Trial what the true Affection of the City was; and that when the Army was march'd as far as St. Albans, the King should send such a Gracious Message, both to the Parliament and City, as was most like to prevail upon them; and concluded, as if he knew that this Way of Proceeding would be very much approv'd of by the Army. This extravagant Motion troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wish'd them, that such a Message should be framed, and that then he Communicate both that, and what concern'd his march towards London, to the Lords of the Council at Oxford; that in so weighty an Affair he might receive their Counsel. To that Purpose the Lord Digby, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to Oxford; who after Two Days return'd without any Approbation of the March, or the Message by the Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of it self, upon the sure Intelligence that Waller had left *Worcestershire*, and

and march'd with what speed he could to find his Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.

Waller on his Part first shew'd his Army at all the Walls of *Worcester*, to terrifie that City which had contemn'd his Power a Year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. Then he marched towards *Gloucester*, having sent to Colonel *Masse*y to send him some Men out of that City, which the other, being a Creature of *Effex's*, refused to do. Upon which he marched into *Warwick-shire*, and appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton* Field, the Place where the First Battle was fought. There he receiv'd an Addition of Seven Troops of Horse, and about Six Hundred Foot, from *W*arwick and from *Coventry*, with Eleven pieces of Ordnance. With which Recruit he marched confidently towards the King; who to meet him, advanced to *Brackley*; and the Armies coming shortly in View of each other upon a fair Sunshine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning, both endeavour'd to possess a Piece of Ground they well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army through the Town of *Banbury* before he could come to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order of Battle, before the King could reach thither: So that the King lay that Night in the Field, half a Mile East of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwell* being between the Two Armies. The King resolv'd to make *W*aller draw off from that Advantageous Ground where he had stood Two Days; and accordingly marched away, as if he would enter farther into *Northampton-shire*: And he no sooner moved, but *W*aller likewise drew off from his Ground, and coasted on the other Side of the River, but at such a Distance, that it was thought he had no Mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's Army was led by the General and *Wilmot*: In the Body was the King and the Prince, and the Rear consisted of One Thousand commanded Foot, under Colonel *Thelwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton's* and the Earl of *Cleveland's*

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The fight
at Cropredy-Bridge.

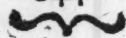
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land's Brigades of Horse. And that the Enemy might not be able to take any Advantage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Cropredy-Bridge*, until the Army was passed beyond it. The Army marching in this Order, Intelligence was brought to the King, that there was a Body of Three Hundred Horse within less than Two Miles of the Van of the Army, that marched to join with *Waller*, and they might be easily cut off, if the Army mended their pace. Whereupon Orders were sent to the foremost Horse, that they should move faster, the Van and the Middle having the same Directions, without any Notice given to the Rear. *Waller* quickly discern'd the Distance that was suddenly grown between the King's Body and his Rear, and presently advanced with Fifteen Hundred Horse, One Thousand Foot, and Eleven Pieces of Cannon to *Cropredy-Bridge*, which were quickly too strong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Resistance: So that this Party advanced above half a Mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off the King's Rear, before they should be able to get up to the Body of the Army. To facilitate which he had sent One Thousand Horse more to pass over at a Ford a Mile below *Cropredy-Bridge*, and to fall upon the Rear of all. Timely Notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Division, and of the Enemy's having passed at *Cropedy*, (which was confirm'd by the running of the Horse, and scatter'd Foot) and that there stood Two Bodies of Horse without moving, and faced the Army, presently drew up his Brigade to a rising Ground that faced that Pass, where he discern'd a great Body of the Parliaments Horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders, but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged presently that Body with great Fury, which sustain'd it not with equal Courage, losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

This

This Alarm had quickly reached the King, who sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up those about him to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a Second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, who commanded his own Guards, 'to make haste to the Assistance of the Rear; and in his Way to Charge those Two Bodies of Horse which faced his Majesty. He, with above a Hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, return'd instantly over the Bridge, and made haste towards those Two Bodies of Horse; who seeing their Fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the Presence of this Troop made them change their Mind: And after a very little Stay, accompany their Fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat that quickly ensued. The Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a Stand under a great Ash, not understanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon, when he perceiv'd a Body of their Horse of Sixteen Cornets, and as many Colours of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him, which he likewise did upon them with notable Vigour; and having stood their Musquet and Carabine-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and chased them with Execution beyond their Cannon: All which, being Eleven Pieces, were taken, with Two Barricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each Seven small Brass and Leather Guns charged with Case-shot; most of their Cannoneers were kill'd, and *Weems*, General of the Ordnance, taken Prisoner. Besides whom there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant Colonel to *Waller's* own Regiment, and Five or Six Lieutenant Colonels and Captains, with many Lieutenants, Ensigns, Cornets, Quarter-masters, and One Hundred Com-

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mon Soldiers; many more being Slain in the Charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the Bridge, over which he forced them to retire in spite of the Dragoons, which were plac'd there to make good their Retreat; all which fled with them or before. And so the Earl having clear'd that Side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good Reason to do; having lost, in this Notable Action, Two Colonels, Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of Fair Fortunes, who had rais'd and arm'd their Regiments at their own Charge; who were both kill'd dead upon the Place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above Fourteen Common Soldiers.

At the same time the Earl of *Northampton* discover'd that Party of the Enemy's Horse which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little Loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them when they were got over continued their Flights so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never return'd again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that Side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge, where he stood whilst the Cannon on the other Side play'd upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army pass'd by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Wilscot*. *Waller* instantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high Grounds which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwel*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cherwel*, and some low Ground, being between both Armies, which had a View of each other. It was now about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon the Weather very fair and very warm (it being the 29th Day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolv'd to prosecute his good

good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since they would not come to him: And to that Purpose Two good Parties, to make Way for him to Pass, both at *Croprady-Bridge*, and the other Pass a Mile below, over which the Enemy had so newly passed: Both which Places were strongly guarded by them. To *Croprady* they sent such strong Bodies of Foot to relieve each other, as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them, but were repulsed till the Night came and sever'd them; all Parties being tired with the Duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other Pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance gain'd it, and a Mill adjoining; where after they had kill'd some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence did not only defend themselves that and the next Day, but did the Enemy much Hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should master the other Pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the King was prevailed with to make Trial of another Expedient. Some Men from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt but that if a Message were now sent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Arms: And it was very notorious that Multitudes ran every Day from thence. How this Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually deliver'd, was the only Question that remain'd: And it was agreed, that Sir *Edward Walker* (who was both Garter King at Arms, and Secretary to the Council of War) should be sent to publish that his Majesty's Grace. But he wisely desired, that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass; whereupon a Trumpet was sent to Sir *William Waller*, to desire a Safe Conduct for a Gentleman, who should deliver a Gracious Message from his Majesty. After Two Hours Consideration he return'd Answer, that he had no Power to receive any Message of Grace or Favour from his Majesty without

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the Consent of the Two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*, to whom his Majesty, if he pleased, might make his Addresses. And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caused above Twenty shot of his greatest Cannon to be made at the King's Army.

This return of *Waller* to the King's Message seems somewhat to disagree with the Account the Royalists have now given of this Action; and indeed *Waller* himself in his Account to the Parliament acquainted them, that *Middleton* routed the Enemy, and pursued them near a Mile, which being perceived by some of his own Forces, they left a Pass which they were to have maintain'd, and deserted their Cannon to fall upon the Enemy, and thereby dispossessed themselves of the Guns and Pass together; that a strong Party of the Royalists wheeling about, forced *Middleton* to retreat with some Loss, in which Skirmish he was dismounted among the King's Forces, who taking him to be One of their Commanders, mounted him again, wishing him to make haste to kill a Roundhead, by which Means he escaped; that about an Hundred of the Common Soldiers were taken Prisoners; that he lost Five Drakes, a Minion, and Two Leather Guns, and that he had about an Hundred and Forty of his Men Slain and taken Prisoners, to about 160 of the King's, and Two Pieces of Cannon: That *Waller* drew all his Horse and Foot to the Top of the Hill, faced the Enemy, that both Parties behaved themselves with great Courage in the Fight; that *Middleton* had a Particular Encounter with the Lord *Wilmot*, whom he took Prisoner, but that he was rescued by the Soldiers; and lastly, that the King's Soldiers thought they had much the better of the Day, but that *Waller* kept the Ground, and that the Enemy drew off; neither of the Two Armies having at present at least any farther Inclination to renew the Fight. The King now began to have Apprehensions of the terrible Fright the Queen would be in (who was newly deliver'd of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Essex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time inform'd that *Waller* was with another Army in pursuit of himself. His Majesty

resolv'd therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to Fight a Battle with him before *Waller* should be in a Condition to follow him. Of which Resolution he gave immediate Notice to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, and sent an Express into the West to inform the Queen of it, who by the Way carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, to draw what Men he could out of *Monmouthshire*, and *South Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison. So without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, marched towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Cirencester*, and so to *Bath*; where he arriv'd on the 15th Day of *July*, and staid there one whole Day to refresh his Army; which stood enough in need of it.

The King
marches to-
wards the
West.

The King had scarce marched Two Days Westward, when he was surprized with ill News from the North; for after he had by an Express from *Oxford* receiv'd Intelligence, Prince *Rupert* had not only reliev'd *York*, but totally defeated the *Scots*, with many Particulars to confirm it, (all which was so much believ'd there, that they had made Publick Rejoicings for the Victory) he now receiv'd quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinced that his whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that after many Great and Noble Actions perform'd by Prince *Rupert*, in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton* and all other Places in that large County, (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Parliamentarians, lost very many, much Blood having being shed in taking Places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Army, that they happily join'd him, and marched together towards *York* with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surprized, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole Side of the Town free; drew to the other Side, in great

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An Account
of the Battl
of Mar-
stonmoor.

Disorder and Consternation ; there being irreconcilable Differences and Jealousies, between the Officers, and indeed between the Nations: The *English* resolving to join no more with the *Scots*, and they on the other Side, as weary of their Company and Discipline, so that the Prince had done his Work ; and if he had fate still, the Enemies great Army would have moulder'd to nothing, and been expos'd to any Advantage his Highness would take of them.

But the Dismal Fate of the Royalists would not permit so much Sobriety of Council : One Side of the Town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the Marquis of *Newcastle*, or any of the Officers within the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that Side where the Enemy was drawn up ; who had no other Hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the Reproaches and Mutinies which distracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots* so totally routed and defeated their whole Army, that they fled all Ways for many Miles together, and were knocked on the Head, and taken Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesly* their General fled Ten Miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable, (from whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so receiv'd and spread as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* Charged so well, and in such excellent Order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers kill'd, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which opposed them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field, and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *Newcastle's* Foot were cut off. The Marquis himself, and his Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendish* (who was a Man of the noblest and largest Mind, though the least, and most Inconvenient Body that liv'd) Charged in the
Head

Head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals return'd into the Town, not enough knowing their own Loss, as perform'd very few Complements each to other.

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Some have reckoned there were Seven Thousand Men lost their Lives in this Battle; all agreed Three Thousand of the Prince's Men were Slain on the Spot, besides those in the pursuit, and Three Thousand taken Prisoners with many of their Chief Officers, Five and Twenty Pieces of Cannon, Forty Seven Colours, Two Waggon Loads of Carabines and Pistols, 130 Barrels of Powder, and all their Bag and Baggage.

Some have remarked concerning this Battle, that the like was never done, heard, or read of before; that Two Great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having perform'd their Duty, remaining upon the Matter entire, and much the greater Part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great Execution having falln upon the Northern Foot; and the other, having the Absolute Commission over the Northern Counties, and very many Considerable Places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that City, and the whole Country, as a Prey to the Enemy, who had scarce yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody, till most of the Officers and Army had march'd or run above Ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely return: And though the Horse under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, had won the Day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers kill'd, or so maim'd they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: So that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their Loss, which might have been done to a good Degree, for the Enemy was not possessed of the Field, but was drawn off at a Distance; and it is not to be doubted, but

6144. there might probably many Advantages have appear'd, which were not at the Instant in view; however, they might Both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

York deliver'd to the Parliament Forces.

But neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but as soon as they were refresh'd with a little sleep they both sent a Messenger to each other almost at the same time; the one, ' that he was resolv'd that Morning to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left; and the other, ' that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea-side, and Transport himself beyond the Seas; both which they immediately performed the Marquis making hast, to *Scarborough*, there embarked, in a Poor Vessel, and arriv'd at *Hamburg*: The Prince, with his Army, begun his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so York was left to the Discretion of Sir *Thomas Glenham*, the Governour thereof, who when he had no Hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, and the Gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he could propose: And so he march'd with all his Troops to *Carlisle*.

The Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those Two Great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular Relation of the Grounds of their Proceeding, or the Causes of their Misadventures, by way of Excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the Death of the King, produced a Letter under the King's own Hand, which he receiv'd when he was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *York*, in which his Majesty said, ' that his Affairs were in so very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness Rais'd the Siege of *York*, if he had not likewise Beaten the *Scotch* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what Disadvantage soever: And added, ' that the Disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much

‘ much Superior in Number, it was no wonder he
 ‘ lost the Day. But as the King’s Letter would not
 ‘ bear that Sence, so the greatest Cause of the Mis-
 fortune was the precipitate entring upon the Battle,
 assoon as the Enemy drew off; and without con-
 sulting at all with the Marquis of Newcastle, and
 his Officers; who must needs know more of the
 Enemy, and consequently how they were best to
 be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he
 saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he
 came at the Head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a
 Private Captain, when the Battle was ranged,
 and which, after a very short Salutation, imme-
 diately began; those of the Marquis’s Army, who
 came out of the Town, being placed upon the
 Ground left by the Prince, and assign’d to them,
 which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to
 the Work in Hand, and towards those with whom
 they were to join in it.

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A great many other things were said to the Dis-
 advantage of the Prince; and all that could be said
 for the Marquis was, that he was so utterly tired
 with a Condition and Employment so contrary
 to his Humour, Nature, and Education, that
 he did not at all consider the Means or the
 Way that would let him out of it, and free him
 for ever from having more to do with it.
 And it was a greater Wonder that he sustain’d the
 Vexation and Fatigue of it so long, than that he
 broke from it with so little Circumspection. He
 was a very Fine Gentleman, Active, and full of
 Courage, and most accomplish’d in those Qualities
 of Horsemanship, and Fencing, which accompany a
 good Breeding; in which his Delight was. Besides
 that he was a lover of Poetry and Musick, to
 which he indulged the greatest Part of his time;
 and nothing could have tempted him out of those
 Paths of Pleasure, which he enjoy’d in a full and
 ample Fortune, but Honour and Ambition to serve
 the King when he saw him in Distress, and aban-
 don’d by most of those who were in the highest De-
 gree obliged to him, and by him. He lov’d Monar-
 chy, as it was the Foundation and Support of his
 own Greatness, and the Church, as it was well
 constituted for the splendour and Security of the

Marquis of
 Newcastle’s
 Character.

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Crown; and Religion, as it cherish'd and maintain'd that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both without any other Passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguish'd it into Parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the Publick Peace.

He had a Particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and a more Extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honour to be trusted with his Education as his Governour; for which Office, as he excell'd in some, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the Powerful Faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possis himself of some Place of Strength, and to raise some Forces for his Defence, but he obey'd his First Call, and, with great Expedition and Dexterity, seized upon *Newcastle*; when till then there was not One Port-Town in *England* that avow'd their Obedience to the King: And he then presently rais'd such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as was Necessary for the present State of Affairs; all which was done purely by his own Interest, and the Concurrence of his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who with all Alacrity obey'd his Commands without any Charge to the King, which he was not able to supply. And after the Battle of *Edge-Hill*, when the Parliamentarians grew so strong in *Yorkshire*, by the Influence their Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the *East* and *West Riding* there, that it behoved the King presently to make a General, who might unite all those Northern Counties in his Service, he could not chuse any Man so fit for it as this Lord, who was not only possess'd of a present Force, and of that Important Town, but had a greater Reputation and Interest in *Yorkshire* it self, than at that present, any other Man had: The Earl of *Cumberland* being at that time, though of entire Affection to the King, much decay'd in the Vigour of his Body and his Mind and unfit for that Activity which the Seasons required. And it could not be denied, but that the Earl of *Newcastle*, by his quick march with his Troops, as soon as he had receiv'd his Commission

son to be General, and in the depth of Winter, redeem'd or rescued the City of York from the Parliament, when they look'd upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: And assoon as he was Master of it, he rais'd Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which he fought many Battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) Success and Victory.

He liked the Pomp and Absolute Authority of a General well, says my Lord Cl——, and preserv'd the Dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward State and Circumstances of it, in Acts of Courtesie, Affability, Bounty, and Generosity, he abounded; which in the Infancy of a War became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the Substantial Part, and Fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to, but refer'd all Matters of that Nature, to the Discretion of his Lieutenant General King, who was an Officer of Experience and Ability; yet being a *Scotchman*, was in that Conjunction, upon more Disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in Battle; in all which he gave Instances of an Invincible Courage and Fearlessness in Danger; in which the exposing himself Notoriously did sometimes change the Fortune of the Day, when his Troops began to give Ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over than he retired to his delightful Company, Musick, or his softer Pleasures, to all which he was so Indulgent, and to his Ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what Occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied Admission to the Chiefest Officers of the Army, even to General King himself, for Two Days together, from whence many Inconveniences fell out. From the beginning he was without any Reverence or Regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any Acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers Mind, that all the Business ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty;

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Treaty; and therefore especially after the Queen had landed in *Yorkshire*, and stay'd so long there, he consider'd any Orders he receiv'd from *Oxford*, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of *Hull*, and was sure that he should be then Master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Associated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty had a purpose to have marched towards *London* on the other side) out of Apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his Authority overshadow'd by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*, from whom he desired to be at distance: Yet when he found himself in Distress, and necessitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and saw no Way to be reliev'd but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great Feats of Arms in the Relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancashire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King at *Oxford*, either upon the Knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his Commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the Consciousness of some Discourse of his own to that purpose, which might have been reported; 'that he hoped his Majesty 'did believe, that he would never make the least 'scruple to obey the Grandchild of King *James*: 'And assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the 'good Inclinations the Marquis had towards him with any civil and Gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of Duty and Regard to his Service and Interest.

But the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself and all the King's Hopes into that sudden and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the Force the Marquis had raised, and with so many Difficulties preserv'd, was in a Moment cast away and destroy'd, so transported him with Passion and Despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the Work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful Condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past Meritorious Actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of

of future Action ; and so without farther Consideration, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King* ; upon whom, they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of Infidelity, Treason, and Conjunction with his Country Men ; which without doubt was the Effect of the universal Discontent, and the miserable Condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least Foundation or Ground for any such Reproach : And as he had, throughout the whole Course of his Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honour, and had exercised the highest Commands under the King of *Sweden* with extraordinary Ability and Success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country-men with the highest Severity from his very coming into the King's Service ; and the same Malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his Death.

This Fatal Blow, which so much changed the King's Condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an Impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Essex* with the more Impatience ; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a Fortnight deliver'd, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*, from whence, in a short time, she embarked for *France* ; his Majesty march'd more slowly, that he might encrease his Army from *Bristol*, and other Places ; making no doubt but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*. *Essex's* good Fortune now begun decline : He had not proceeded with his accustomed Wariness and Skill ; but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disintangle himself. When he had marched to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any Imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him,

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him, having left the King in so ill a Condition, and Sir *William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the 'Disappointment' Sir *William Waller* had receiv'd, and that the King was come with his whole Army into the West in pursuit of him, without being follow'd by *Waller*, or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March; which exceedingly perplexed him, and made him suspect the Parliament it self had Betrayed him and Conspired his Ruin.

The Jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*, to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King, but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl, on the other Side, had well observ'd the difference betwixt the Care and Affection the Parliament expressed for and towards his Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a Price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise it could not be possible, upon so little a Brush as *Waller* had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the King, in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected Streight he resolv'd to return back, and meet and fight the King, either before he enter'd *Devonshire*, or else in *Somersetshire*; but the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General Officer in his Army, of an insociable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of Contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much Superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those Contradictions, positively opposed the Return of the Army; but pressed, with all Confidence, 'that the Army should continue 'its March to *Cornwal*; where he undertook 'to have so great Interest, that he made no Question, 'but the presence of the Earl of *Essex*, with his Army, would so unite that County 'to the Parliaments Service, that it would be ealie 'to defend the Passes into the whole County in
such

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such a manner, that the King's Army should never be able to enter into *Cornwal*, nor to retire out of *Devonshire* without great Loss, nor before the Parliament would send more Forces upon their backs. *Effex* departing from his own Understanding, complied with the advice, and so march'd the direct Way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County, and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, which easily retired Westward, until he found himself in Streights, where we shall leave him for the present.

Effex
marches in-
to *Corn-*
wal

On the other Hand, the King having made a small Stay at *Exeter*, and a little refresh'd and accommodated his Troops, marched directly to *Cornwal*; where he found *Effex* in such a Part of the Country on the Sea-side, that he quickly, by the General Conflux and Concourse of the whole People, upon which the Earl had been perswaded so much to depend, found means, with very little Fighting, so to streighten his Quarters, that there seem'd little appearance that he could possibly march away with his Army, or compel the King to Fight. He was, upon the Matter, inclosed in and about *Foy*, whilst the King lay encamped about *Liskard*, and no Day pass'd without some Skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here happen'd an Accident that might very well have turn'd the King's Fortune, and deprived him of all the Advantages which were then in view. His Majesty being always in the Army himself, all Matters were debated before him, in the presence of those Counsellors who were about him, who were the Lord *Digby*, Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls; of whose Judgment the King had more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of the Officers of the Army, which rais'd an implacable Animosity in the whole Army against them. General *Rutten*, who by this Time was created Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army, and a Man that could indeed better judge by his Eye than his

The King
follows him
hither.

Ear

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Ear, and in the Field well knew what was to be done. *Wilmot* was Lieutenant General of the Horse, and at this Time the Second Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it than any Man; he was a Man Proud and Ambitious, incapable of being Contented, an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great Power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit even than his Rival *Goring*, and sway'd more among the Good-fellows, and could by no Means endure that the Lord *Digby* and Sir *John Colepepper* should have so much Credit with the King in Councils of War. *Wilmot* knew the King had no Kindness for him upon an Old Account, and foresaw that he should be quickly overshadow'd in the War, and therefore desired to get out of it by a reasonable Peace; and so, in all his Discourses, urged the necessity of it, that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament 'in order to the obtaining it, and in his march 'had prosecuted his former Design by several Cabals among the Officers; and disposed them to Petition the King 'to send to the Parliament again 'an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby* 'and *Colepepper* might not be permitted to 'be present in Councils of War; implying, 'that 'if this might not be granted, they would 'think of some other Way. Which Petition, though, by the Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being deliver'd, yet so provoked the King, that he resolv'd to take the opportunity to free himself from his impetuous Humour, in which good Disposition the Lord *Digby* ceased not to confirm his Majesty, and as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and that the Marquis of *Newcastle* had left the Kingdom, he prevailed that *Goring* might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his Nephew, Prince *Rupert*, General of the Army, and *Goring* General of the Horse, which *Wilmot* could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always Superior to him in Command; and yet would be

be such a Mortification to him as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether out of his Apprehensions of this, or whatever else it was, he gave not the King time to prosecute that Method, but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher Remedy: For during the whole March he discoursed, in all Places, 'that the King must send to the Earl of *Essex* 'to invite him to a Conjunction with him, that 'so the Parliament might be obliged to consent 'to a Peace; and pretended, that he had so 'good Intelligence in that Army, as to know 'that such an Invitation would prove effectual, 'and be acceptable to the Earl; who, he knew, 'was unsatisfied with the Parliaments Behaviour 'towards him: And he was so forward as to desire a Gentleman, with whom he had no Intimacy, and who had a Pass to go beyond the Seas, and must go through the Earl's Quarters, 'that he 'would give his Service to the Earl of 'Essex, and assure him, that the Army so much 'desired Peace, that it should not be in the 'Power of any of those Persons about the King 'to hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon 'any reasonable Propositions. This singular Carriage and Discourses were quickly represented in their full magnitude to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his Majesty's own Aversion kindled any Spark into a form'd Distrust. So that after the King came into *Cornwall*, and had his whole Army drawn up on the Top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every Day, upon some new Discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and Vanity, the Knight Marshal Arrested him in the King's Name of High-Treason, and dismounted him from his Horse in the Head of all the Troops, putting a Guard upon him. The same Day the King remov'd the Lord *Percy*, who had been made General of the Ordnance and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*, and the very next Day after Colonel *Goring* appear'd, who waited upon the King the Night before at his Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*: And then the Army

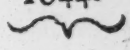
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my being drawn up, his Majesty, attended by the principal Officers of it, rode to every Division of the Horse, and there declared, that at the Request of his Nephew, Prince *Rupert* and upon his Resignation, he made Mr. *Goring* General of the Horse, and commanded them all to obey him; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for very good Reasons, justly restrain'd him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his Command in the Army; which Declaration visibly raised the Countenance of the Body of Horse more than the King was pleased with observing: And the very next Day the greatest Part of the Officers deliver'd a Petition, that his Majesty would give them so much Light into the Lord *Wilmot's* Crimes, that they might see themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his Orders: But enough of these Jangling at present, which signified nothing to the General Peace of the Kingdom, for which our Neighbours the States General about this Time seem'd to be more solicitous than our selves, and having sent Ambassadors hither to that Purpose; they deliver'd themselves to the Parliament in this manner.

Right Honourable Lords and Commons,

FROM the very beginning of the Restauration of the Liberty of the Republick of the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, the High and Mighty Lords, our Lords the States General, their chiefeſt Wiſhes and Deſires have ever been to ſee that the Kings of *Great Britain* and theſe Kingdoms might be maintained and preſerved in a good Concord, Peace and Union, by which nothing could befall them, but all Safety and Advantage, and that for Three Principal Reaſons. Firſt, That theſe Kingdoms being the greateſt and ſtrongeſt Body, which having received and maintained the Profeſſion of the True Chriſtian Proteſtant Religion, and conſerving it ſo well, it might alſo contribute much, yea, by Fame and Reputation it ſelf, to the Conſervation of States,

Ruthen and
Wilmot's
Character.



' States, Confederates and Friends, and of all the
 ' other Protestant Churches established and spread
 ' throughout all *Europe*. Secondly, That those
 ' Kingdoms by their Scituation, Commodities,
 ' Traffick and Navigation, and their Republick
 ' being so nearly combined by their common In-
 ' terest of State and Religion, our Lords might
 ' rest assured, that the Interest of the King and
 ' these Kingdoms being so mightily advanced
 ' and conserved, by the same Means, those of the
 ' *Netherlands* could not but be well conserved.
 ' And Thirdly, That this Inteltine Peace (which
 ' Prosperity and Weal ordinarily accompanieth)
 ' continuing here, that not only the King and
 ' Kingdoms should be able to maintain and pre-
 ' serve themselves, but that the States, Confede-
 ' rates and Friends, or the Good Cause of the
 ' Protestant Religion in other Parts, unjustly suf-
 ' fering (as formerly it hath been, and yet this
 ' Day is too much perceived) they might ever
 ' find their Refuge and Azile, their Succour and
 ' their Aid, against all those who on the contrary
 ' Part, of other States and Churches, should un-
 ' dertake to undermine the true Foundation of the
 ' Happines of these flourishing Kingdoms. For
 ' your Scituation being well considered, you are
 ' in your selves as a World apart, separated from
 ' many Inconveniencies of the other. You have
 ' your Commodities at Home, not only which
 ' are Necessary, and for your Pleasure and Delight,
 ' but also in such Plenty, that you are able to com-
 ' municate them to other Nations, your Neigh-
 ' bours. The Sea doth serve you for a Ditch
 ' and Bulwark, and your Power at Sea is able to
 ' maintain you in your Felicity, and exempt and
 ' free you from all Foreign Injuries; so that the
 ' Good of your own Conversation, and all the
 ' cause of your Evil and Ruin could not be susci-
 ' tated nor found elsewhere, but at Home, and
 ' within your selves. And certainly the Kings and
 ' Queens formerly have done Notable Assistances for
 ' the Preservation of the True Religion, and of
 ' many States which had need thereof; among
 ' which our Lords do profess themselves as much
 ' obliged

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' obliged and bound as any other; and the King
 ' and these Kingdoms shall yet, in time, be able to
 ' do the like Assistance as well for the present,
 ' (now there is so great a Necessity) as for the
 ' future; provided you conserve your selves in
 ' that Concord and Union, which heretofore hath
 ' made, and shall ever make, you Mighty and Re-
 ' doubted. From hence it is that the Enemies of
 ' the Peace of Christendom, and their Agents, who
 ' long since have framed and forged the Design of
 ' Universal Monarchy of *Europe*, yea, of all the
 ' World, seeing and perceiving with an envious and
 ' malicious Eye your former Happiness, your flour-
 ' ishing State, and your Power, and that there was
 ' nothing so contrary and dreadful to their vast Con-
 ' ceptions as your Oppositions, to Hurt and Wea-
 ' ken, yea, to Ruin you, if they had been able,
 ' they have heretofore used all Violence, and
 ' Strength of great Fleets and Armies, but in Vain,
 ' and without Success. They have at last not been
 ' able to act a better Play, than that which is most
 ' familiar to them and which hath helped them, to
 ' the Ruin of many great States, which have not
 ' been so Prudent and Circumspect as you are.
 ' Right Honourable, it is so, that quitting Violence
 ' in a profound Peace, which they have with you,
 ' and during the time of the same they have sown
 ' among you the Seeds and Weeds of Discord
 ' and Dissention, as well in Politicks as in Church
 ' Businesses; and shall ever foment them, whence
 ' they could assure themselves of a certain Profit
 ' what End soever the Dissentions might take.
 ' And by those Means, and their accustomed Craft,
 ' they have proposed to obtain that by Intestine
 ' Troubles you should Weaken your selves; and
 ' making you less Mighty, and less Dreadful, and no
 ' Ways Considerable, you might serve at last (which
 ' God avert) to the inglutting of their insatiable Am-
 ' bition, to the Destruction of the True Religion,
 ' and of all that which may be Dear and Recom-
 ' mendable unto you; as we see already brought
 ' to pass in *Ireland*, where the Cruelties, Murders,
 ' horrible and unheard of Slaughters have been
 ' perpetrated with Effusion of so much Innocent
 ' Blood

‘ Blood, to the total Destruction of the True Pro-
‘ testant Religion there, and to the great Danger of
‘ the State itself. Our Lords seeing these Misun-
‘ derstandings, Troubles and Miseries here already
‘ grown to so great an Extremity, and being so
‘ highly interested in your Well-being, have esteem-
‘ ed it fit and timely to send us their Ambassadors
‘ to this Kingdom, to offer to the King and to his
‘ Parliament, our Service and Mediation. To
‘ help, if acceptable, to remove and take away the
‘ Jealousies, which are and might be, and to compass
‘ the Dissentions by the mild Ways for an Amicable
‘ Conference. And our said Lords declare, that
‘ they have not been moved thereto by any Pre-
‘ sumption, or to intrude themselves in the Business
‘ of a great King, and of these Mighty Kingdoms,
‘ but only to acquit themselves of the Office and
‘ Duty of good Friends; and also to acknow-
‘ ledge on this Occasion the great Obligations
‘ which the King and these Kingdoms have upon
‘ our Republick. Our Lords further do per-
‘ swade themselves, that no other State in the
‘ World, but theirs, shall be found more fit and
‘ acceptable (in their Opinion) to interpose them-
‘ selves in the Mediation of an Accommodation and
‘ Reunion between his Majesty and his Parliament,
‘ and to whose Interposition more Credit might
‘ be given, without all Suspicion, for the Honour,
‘ Greatness and Prosperity, of the King and these
‘ Kingdoms is, by reflection, the same for our Re-
‘ publick: And on the contrary, your Evil is to us
‘ a very great Affliction, and a most sensible Evil.
‘ From thence may be taken this firm Assurance,
‘ that the Aim of our Mediation shall not be to re-
‘ commend an Accommodation and Reconciliation
‘ feigned and painted without, nor prejudicial,
‘ and not assured within, but to procure a true Re-
‘ union, sincere and perfect, founded upon the
‘ Basis of True Religion and Justice, which shall
‘ re-establish respectively the good Correspondence
‘ Confidence, Love, and the Respects between the
‘ King and his Parliament, and between all the good
‘ Subjects of these great Kingdoms. The King
‘ hath so much approved of the Reasons and pro-

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'fers of our said Lords, that his Majesty hath ac-
 'cepted on his Part our Interposition, and hath
 'consented to a Conference between Commissioners
 'to be sent from both Parties, (if you find it good)
 'and if you shall chuse the Place, the Time, and
 'the Number of Persons who shall be imploy'd in
 'this Action. Right Honourable, now we come
 'unto you, by Command of our Superiors, to
 'make the same Profer of Mediation, and to un-
 'derstand also whether it may be agreeable unto
 'you: We have always observed that your good
 'Inclinations have been carried to Peace, if you
 'receive Satisfaction to your just and reasonable
 'Demands. Your Wisdoms also may well judge,
 'that the Ways of Arms are not always the surest,
 'their Successes being very uncertain, and which
 'change Face in a Moment. The good Cause
 'which is proposed, doth not always promise an
 'assured and certain Success; for we are all Men,
 'and God sometimes suffers the good Cause to suffer
 'for our Sins. All War is an Affliction and Pu-
 'nishment of God, in which we are not to take
 'Delight, when we can be freed from it upon
 'sure Terms and Conditions, that the Wrath of
 'God be no longer provoked against us. It is to
 'be considered also, if no reasonable Accommodati-
 'on be found, that the Decision of your Diffe-
 'rences by Arms is not to be expected so soon;
 'but rather on the contrary, that it shall be the
 'Cause of perpetuating the Wars in these King-
 'doms; because the King shall ever live in his
 'Royal Posterity, and the Parliament never dies,
 'to suscite always the former Evil Successes by
 'new Wars, which shall at length cause the total
 'Ruin and Destruction of State and Religion, only
 'to the Advantage of the common Enemy of our
 'Faith. Right Honourable, if it please you to make
 'use of our Intercession, unto which the King
 'consented at our first Proposition and Offer, we
 'promise you to proceed and labour in it with all
 'Sincerity and Fidelity, as Ambassadors sent by
 'your Best Friends and Allies, making Profession
 'of one and the same Religion. And we shall
 'spare no Endeavour, Trouble nor Pain, (by the
 '(Good-

Good-will which his Majesty hath declared to us, and by your good Intention) to make the Affections of our Lords succeed to such Perfection, that the King and his Parliament, and all Good and all Loyal Subjects of the King, and Lovers of their Country, shall find their desired Contentment and Tranquility with all Assurance. Right Honourable, We must yet add, that your Troubles and Wars, trouble and endanger us also; for many Merchants and Masters of Ships daily present themselves to our Lords, the States General, and to us here, with their Complaints, that your Men and Ships of War trouble their Course of Trading and Traffick, and take their Ships and Goods, without any Just Cause, and without any Reason and Right at all, as may be seen by a Memorandum hereunto annexed, which you are desired to take notice of, and to give order for the Restitution and Reparation of the Damages sustained for the present, and to take such Course that for the future the like Excesses may be prevented. And if any Doubts be found in the said Memorandum, that it may please you to appoint some Commissioners to settle the Points of which we are complaining, as shall be found to appear with Reason.

But this being, the more our Misfortune, like throwing Dust into the Air, we return again to the Field. The King about this time finding a mighty Confluence of People come flocking to him from all Parts, caused the ensuing Speech to be read, First, in his own Presence, and then in other Parts of the Field.

Gentlemen,

I Have often desired before these Troubles to visit these Western Parts, that I might with Joy have been the Witness of the Blessing of Peace which you then enjoy'd, and have been welcomed with the hearty and unanimous Affection of my Good People here: But the Malicious Designs of the Authors of this most Unnatural War have made these my Intentions

*King's
Speech to
the Gentle-
men of Som-
erset,
July 23.*

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' impossible: Yet my coming to you in this Posture
 ' may sufficiently express what Value I set upon
 ' these Associated Counties: I am now come to
 ' relieve you from the Violence of a Rebellious
 ' Army, sent hither by those that have plunged
 ' this whole Kingdom in these desperate Distra-
 ' ctions; they have got footing in your Country,
 ' and under the false Pretences they carry with
 ' them, (wherewith they have abused too many of
 ' my People) are ready to devour you, and
 ' bring Destruction to Religion, Property and
 ' Liberty: These I am to defend, and shall refuse
 ' no Danger that may conduce to your Deliverance
 ' from this Slavery attempted on you by those
 ' Men. All that I ask of you is, that you will
 ' not be wanting to your selves, but will heartily
 ' join with me in this good Work, by contri-
 ' buting your chearful Assistance to my Army, by
 ' performing your Duty in bearing Arms with me
 ' in this good Cause; wherein whosoever shall
 ' fall carrieth this Comfort with him, that he fal-
 ' leth in Defence of the True Protestant Religion, his
 ' King, his Country, and the Law of the Land,
 ' and he that will not venture his Life for these,
 ' I had rather have his Room than his Company.
 ' Upon these Grounds I shall lead you on; follow
 ' me with Courage, and the God of Power give
 ' us his Blessing. I shall farther remember you of
 ' this, that if by your Assistance it shall please God
 ' to enable me to reduce this Army, now in the
 ' Bowels of your Country, you will not only
 ' thereby free these Associated Counties from
 ' those Miseries which threaten you, but it may
 ' please God in Mercy so to look upon this Poor
 ' Kingdom, that the Fruits of this Victory may be
 ' a Means to restore Peace to us all, that Blessed
 ' Peace, which I have so often and so importu-
 ' nately fought for from those at *Westminster*, and
 ' which they have so scornfully rejected, as if the
 ' Blood of their Fellow Subjects were their Delight.
 ' God turn their Hearts; neither shall I despair of
 ' it, if the Success of that Army (the chiefest
 ' Strength on which they rely) shall fail their Ex-
 ' pectation: For then it may have such an Influe-
 ' ence

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“ once upon them, that I shall hope they may be
“ prevailed with to give you leave to be Happy
“ again; and (which I have so often desir’d) to
“ have all that is in Question between them and me
“ determined in a full and free Convention of
“ Parliament. Then I shall not fear but the misse
“ Power of this Kingdom will easily free us from
“ that Northern Invasion, which (making use of
“ our Divisions) threatneth no less than the Con-
“ quest of this whole Nation. This I assure you,
“ that no Success shall make me less zealously seek
“ for Peace, (well knowing whose Blood is to be
“ spilt in this unhappy Quarrel,) but rather, I
“ shall more fervently increase my Desires, by how
“ much I may have better grounded Hopes to at-
“ tain what I so earnestly desire: When I mention
“ Peace, I would be understood to intend that
“ Peace which is built upon such Foundations as
“ are most likely to render it firm and stable,
“ wherein God’s True Religion may be best secured
“ from the Danger of Popery, Sectaries and In-
“ novations, the Crown may possess those Just
“ Prerogatives, which may enable us to Protect
“ and Govern my People according to Law, and
“ the Subject be confirmed in those Rights which
“ they have derived from their Forefathers, and
“ which I have granted to them in Parliament;
“ to which I shall always be ready to add such
“ new Graces as I shall find most to conduce to
“ their Happiness. This is the Peace I labour for,
“ wherein I may justly expect your best Assis-
“ tance, with your Hearts, Hands and Purse:
“ Neither shall I be more burdensome to you
“ with my Army, than of Necessity I must for
“ its Support, (so far I must desire your Help,
“ being violently robbed of all my Revenues) I
“ have, and shall use all possible Means to suppress
“ the Disorders of the Soldiers: The best way to
“ do it is by taking Order, that they be not pro-
“ voked with want of necessary Provisions: That
“ being done by you, Mr. Sheriff, and the Com-
“ missioners of this County, (which I must earnest-
“ ly commend to your Care, you shall find me
“ very strict in such Discipline as may best secure

you.

‘ you. This Night I hope to have joined with
 ‘ me other considerable Forces, which are upon
 ‘ their March towards me, and to morrow Morning
 ‘ we shall humbly ask God’s Blessing on us, and be-
 ‘ gin the Work. This Care I shall farther take
 ‘ for you, that as soon as possibly I can, other
 ‘ Men (to be levied by Impress) shall supply the
 ‘ Places of such of you as I shall then give Liberty
 ‘ to return to your Harvest. I shall conclude with
 ‘ this Promise to you, that I shall look upon your
 ‘ Chearfulness in this Service as the greatest Ex-
 ‘ pression of young Loyalty and Affections that you
 ‘ can make, or I receive, which I shall requite, if
 ‘ it be in my Power. If I live not to do it, I
 ‘ hope this young Man, my Son, (your Fellow Soldier
 ‘ in this Expedition) will, to whom I shall parti-
 ‘ cularly give it in Charge.

In the mean while his Majesty thought he had an Opportunity put into his Hands to make a trial, whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the Notorious Indignities which he receiv’d from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the World, or from the present ill Condition which he and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a Conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desired, for the recovery of his Health, to transport himself into *France*; and to that Purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself, Monsieur *Richaute*, a *Frenchman*, who had been his Governour and Two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl’s Quarters. By him the King writ a Letter with his own Hand to the Earl to this Purpose.

Essex,

*The King’s
 Letter to
 Essex Au-
 gust the
 9th.*

I Have been very unwilling to believe, that whenever there should be such a Conjunction as to put it in your Power to effect that happy Settlement of this miserable Kingdom, which all good Men desire, you would not lay hold of it; that Season is now before you, you have it at this time in your Power to redeem your Country and
 the

the Crown, and to oblige your King in the highest Degree; (an Action certainly of the greatest Piety, Prudence and Honour) such an Opportunity as perhaps no Subject before hath ever had, or after you shall have; to which there no more required but that you join with me heartily, and really in the settling of those things which we both have profess'd constantly to be our only Aims: Let us do this, and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their King's, their Country, and their own Good, we will make them happy, (by God's Blessing) even against their Wills: The only Impediment will be want of mutual Confidence; I promise it you on my Part, as I have endeavour'd in my Letter to Hertford from Evesholm: I hope this will perfect it, when (as here I do) I shall have engaged unto you the Word of a King, that you joining with me in the Blessed Work, I will give, both to you, and to your Army, such Eminent Marks of my Confidence and Valour, as shall not leave Room for the least Distrust among you, either in Relation to the Publick, or your self, unto whom I shall then be,

Your Faithful Friend,

C. R.

The King desired that a Pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, a Gentlemen who had been before of much Conversation with the Earl, and much lov'd by him; and the procuring this Pass was recommended to Monsieur Richaute. And Harding in the mean time had these Instructions given him.

You are forthwith to repair to the Earl of of Essex, with the Lord Beauchamp, in the Way the most unsuspected you can, of any other Design than the accompanying of him: You are to deliver to him, at a fitting Opportunity, the Letter from us, which if you cannot suddenly gain, you may cause it to be delivered by the Lord Beauchamp, he acquainting the said Earl that the Credence in the Letter relates to you, who come instructed from us.

You are by all Means possible to endeavour the obtaining of a free and private Conference with the said Earl; wherein, if admitted, you are to govern

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To assure him that our Aim in this Overture is in short this: To procure, if it be possible, an Union of his Power with ours, in an hearty and thorough Pursuance of One Common End; namely, the Preservation of this Miserable Kingdom from the Danger of a Conquest by the *Scots*, and from certain Ruin and Desolation every Way, should those unnatural Wars continue, and the Settlement of an happy Peace upon the firm Establishment of the Protestant Religion, Laws of the Land, Liberties of the Subjects, and Privileges of Parliament, and of the undeniable and inseparable Rights of the Crown, in a full and free Convention of Parliament.

To assure him of our most real Intentions in all that we profess unto him, as well concerning the Publick as Particular Interest of him and his Army, and all others that join in this good Work.

That we shall most readily Consent to give all the Cautions on our Part that can be reasonably desired, for the full Performance of all things that shall be agreed on, as well by the Trust and Power which we shall give the said Earl himself, as by the solemnest Engagements, both of our Royal Faith and our Nobility, Council, and Principal Officers of our Army, whereby such a Confidence may be raised, as may fully satisfy and remove all Jealousies and Distrusts, which otherwise might hinder the happy Conclusion of that which is propounded.

You are to assure him of the General Concurrence, both of my Nephew, Prince *Rupert*, and all the Court, the Armies, and of the Lords at *Oxford*, in the earnest Desire of such a happy Accommodation.

You may also use it as an Argument of our Reality at this Overture, that the present Posture, wherein he may know us to be here, may assure him that it arises not from the Weakness of our Condition.

You

You are to enforce the Necessity of this Way, as the only visible Means to preserve the Kingdom from utter Ruin, from the Danger of a Conquest by the *Scots*, which Side soever prevail, if not prevented by this Union, and both it and himself from the Insolencies and Ingratitudes, which must be expected from a prevailing Populace.

You are to press unto him the Glory of the Work, to redeem his Nation from the greatest Extremities, to fix so high an Obligation on the Crown, the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and to be the Author of so Universal a Joy, as this Agreement will Beget in the People.

You are to press unto him the Prudence of this Design, not only in order to his own Honour and Safety, who can expect neither, if either the *Scots* or the other Violent Party at *London* prevail, but also in point of Probability of Success in the main: How impossible it will be that that violent Party should be able to oppose the Power of those Armies, that joined for the attaining of such Just and Pious Ends, as must needs convince many that have been misled: What Strength the Reputation of it with the said Earl's Interest will add; what Distractions those violent Men are likely to be surprized with; and lastly, how likely it is, that when the Persons shall find it out of their Power to hinder this Blessed Work, they themselves may without the Hazard of a Battle be brought to yield, that a firm Peace may be settled in a full and free Convention of Parliament.

If he shall speak unto you of any Address to be made in this Business to those at *Westminster*, you are to shew, that over and above the unfitness of it for us, in regard of so many former Rejections, it is impossible in Point of Time; that the Attempt of it will be a Certain Bane to the whole Business, without a possibility of ever having the Opportunity again; that the Temper and Engagement of those of the House of Commons is such, that there is no Hopes that the Honest Men amongst them dare appear against the declared Sense of the House, untill they shall see

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a Power on Foot sufficient to protect them. But 'tis to be hoped the Major Part of the Members of Both Houses now present at *Westminster* will give a good Approbation, and be carried on to that which shall be Safe as well as Just, which if propounded unteasonable, and unbacked with Power, would certainly be rejected. So that as the present Condition of both Armies stands here, considering the Possibility of *Waller's* Approach, if time be given, when the whole Business will thereby be made impossible, any Delay, under Pretence of Necessity of Address to them, cannot be otherwise understood than as a pure Negative.

If you shall find the said Earl (as we hope you will) sensible how Happy he may make his King, his Country, and himself, in this Course, and that he be disposed to join in this Glorious Work, you are to inform your self of the Constitution of his Army; what Persons of Power are most likely to oppose it, what is to be done to gain them, if it may be, if not, to prevent their doing hurt; what Dangers are to be avoided in the Management of the Business; whence the Rise of the Treaty is to be taken, whether from some Publick Message from us, or otherwise, how the Work is to be timed, with all the Circumstances which may conduce to it.

In fine, if you shall find the said Earl so happily inclined as aforesaid, you are to proceed with him with all Frankness and Open-heartedness, and to let him know, that as we have not hitherto permitted any Address or Application to any of his Army, but only to himself, so neither shall we, but by his Advice, wherein, as in all other things of Relation to this great Work, we shall expect his Counsel and Directions, and much rely upon them.

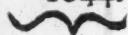
You are from time to time to give us an Account what Effect you find of this Negotiation, and what further Powers shall be necessary to be sent you from us.

The

The Earl receiv'd his Nephew very kindly, who deliver'd the King's Letter to him, which he receiv'd, and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beauchamp*, that Montieur *Richaute*, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King, the Earl call'd him into his Chamber in the Presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him 'if he had any thing to say to him? *Richaute* told him that his Principal Business was to Desire his Permission and Pass that Mr. *Harding* might come to him, who had many things to offer, which he presumed would not be unacceptable to him. The Earl Answer'd in short, 'that he would not permit Mr. *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have any Treaty with the King, having receiv'd no Warrant for it from the Parliament: Upon which *Richaute* enlarged himself upon some Particulars, which Mr. *Harding* was to have urged, 'of the King's Desire of Peace, of the Concurrence of all the Lords as well those at *Oxford* as in the Army, in the same Desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest by the *Scots*, and other Discourte to that purpose; 'and of the King's readiness to give him any Security for the performance of all he had promised. To all which the Earl Answer'd 'that according to the Commission he had receiv'd, he would defend the King's Person and Posterity, and that the best Counsel he could give him was to go to his Parliament.

Assoon as the King receiv'd this Account he resolv'd to push it on the other Way, and to Fight with the Enemy assoon as was possible; and so the next Day, drew up all his Army in sight of them, and had many Skirmishes between the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that Part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mobun*, at *Bocconnocke*; they having the Possession of his House, where they Quarter'd conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well view'd each other, lay in the Field: The next Morning the King called

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called a Council to consider whether they should that Day compel the Enemy to Fight, which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the Arrival of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was yet in the West of *Cornwal*, and had a great Body of Horse and Foot with him. It was hereupon order'd, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into Inclosures between *Boconnocke* and the Heath; the Horse were Quarter'd for the most Part between *Liskard* and the Sea, and every Day compelled the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this Posture both Armies lay within view of each other for Three or Four Days. In which time several of the Officers, and some of them who had conferr'd with the Prisoners, who were every Day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were perswaded by them, that all the Obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from his Jealousie, that when the King had got him into his Hands he would take Revenge upon him for all the Mischief he had sustain'd by him; and that if he had any Assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat. Upon this these Contrivers prepared a Letter to be sent to *Essex* to this effect.

Letter from
the Com-
manders of
his Ma-
jesties Ar-
mies to *Es-*
sex Aug.
the 9th

WE having obtained his Majesties leave to send to you, shall not repeat how the many Gracious Messages, Endeavours, and Declaration, which his Majesty hath made, have so Solemnly been protested in the Presence of God and Men, that we wonder how the most Scrupulous can make any doubt of the real Performance of them; but we must before this approaching Occasion tell your Lordship, that we bear Arms for this End only, to defend his Majesties Right, the Protestant Religion, and Laws of this Kingdom: And this being the profess'd Cause of your Lordship's Arms, we are confident that concurring in the same Opinions and Pretences, we shall not by an unnatural War

War weaken the main Strength of this Kingdom,
to advance the Designs of our Common Enemies,
who long since have devoured us in their Hopes.
My Lord, the Exigences of the Times will not
suffer us to make any labour'd Declarations
of our Intentions, but only this, on the Faith
of Subjects, the Honour and Reputation of
Gentlemen and Soldiers, we will with our Lives
maintain that which his Majesty shall publick-
ly promise in order to a Bloodless Peace; nor
shall it be in the Power of any private Person
to divert this Resolution of ours, and the same
we expect from you. And now we must take
leave to protest, that if this our Offer be neglect-
ed (which we make neither in Fear of your Pow-
er nor in Distrust of our own, but only touch-
ed with the approaching Misery of our Nation)
that what Calamities soever shall oppress Po-
sterity, will lye heavy on the Souls and Con-
sciences of those that shall decline this Overture,
which we cannot Hope so seasonably to make
again, if this Conjunction be let go; and there-
fore it is desired that your Lordship, and Six other
Persons, may meet our General to Morrow, (at
such an indifferent Place as you shall think fit)
attended with as many, that may consider of all
Means possible to reconcile these unhappy
Differences and Misunderstandings that have so
long afflicted the Kingdom; and for your Lord-
ship's Security and those that shall come with, or be
employ'd by your Lordship, we do engage our
Faith and Honour, and do expect the same
from your Lordship, desiring withal your ve-
ry speedy Answer, which must be a Guide to
our Proceedings; concluding, that if this shall
be refused, we shall hold our selves justified be-
fore God and Men, whatsoever shall be the Suc-
cess.

When they had framed this Letter between
themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose
Approbation they receiv'd, they resolv'd to pre-
sent it the King, and humbly to desire his Per-
mission

1644. mission that it might be sent to the Earl of
Essex Answer. *Essex*, who the next Day return'd his Answer
 to them in these Words: "My Lords, in the
 'beginning of your Letter you express by what
 'Authority you send it; I having no Authority
 'from the Parliament, who have employ'd me,
 'to treat, cannot give Way to it without Breach
 'of Trust. My Lords, I am your Humble Ser-
 'vant, *Essex*. *Lisithiel*, Aug. 10. 1644.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* was now come up to
 the Post where he should be; and at *Bodmin*, in
 his March, had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's
 Horse, and kill'd many, and taken others Pri-
 soners and presented himself to the King at *Bo-
 connocke*, giving his Majesty an Account of his
 Proceedings, and a Particular of his Forces; which
 after all the high Discourses amounted really but
 to Eighteen Hundred Foot, and Six Hundred
 Horse: On the other Side though *Essex* had but
 Streight and narrow Room for his Quarters for
 so great an Army of Horse and Foot, yet he had
 the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to befriend
 him; by which he might reasonably assure himself of
 store of Provisions, the Parliament Ships having
 all the Jurisdiction there; and so, if he pre-
 serv'd his Post, which was so situated that he
 could not be compell'd to Fight without giving
 him great Advantage, he might well conclude,
 that *Waller*, or some other Force sent from the
 Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's
 Back, as his Majesty was upon his: And no
 Question, this rational Confidence was a great Motive
 to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the
 King; it was therefore now resolv'd to make his
 Quarters yet streighter, and to cut off even his Provi-
 sions by Sea, or a good Part thereof. To which
 Purpose *Greenil* possessed himself of *Lanbethe-
 rick*, a strong Horse of the Lord *Roberts*, Two Miles
 West of *Boconnocke*, and over the River that runs to *Li-
 stithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewise to *Reprime-
 Bridge* by which the Enemy was not only deprived
 of that useful Outlet, but a safe Communication
 made between him and the King's Army, which
 was before interrupted. And on the other Side
 which was of more Importance, Sir *Jacob Ashley*,
 with

with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Mohun's*, over-against *Foy*, and of *Pernon-Fort*, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the Haven; so that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Essex*, save for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that Way. And it was exceedingly wonder'd at by all Men that he did not put strong Guards into those Places: In this Posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the Space of Eight or Ten Days; when the King seeing no better Fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolv'd to draw his Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Essex* to Fight, or to be uneasie even in his Quarters. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner that the Enemy was compell'd still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters, and among the rest, a rising Ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possessed, and immediately caused a Square-work to be there rais'd, and a Battery made, upon which some Pieces of Cannon were planted, that shot into their Quarters, and did them Damage.

And now the King's Forces had a full Prospect over all the other's Quarters; and *Goring* was sent with the greatest Part of the Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St. Blase*, to drive them yet closer together, and to cut off the Provisions they receiv'd from thence; which was so executed, that they did not only possess themselves of *St. Austel* and the Westerly Part of *St. Blase* (so that the Enemy's Horse was reduced to that small Extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy* and that at *Blase*, which is not above Two Miles in breadth, and little more in length) but likewise were Masters of the *Parr* near *St. Blase*, whereby they deprived them of the Chief Place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discern'd that he should not be able long to re-

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main in that Posture; besides, he had receiv'd Advertisment that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London* had receiv'd some Brush in *Somersetshire*, which was the defeat at *Cropredy*, (in which there did not appear to be One Thousand Men kill'd, or taken Prisoners) yet it had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; and he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely expos'd him to be Affronted; all which was greedily hearken'd to, and his Person receiv'd and treated as if he had return'd Victorious after having defeated the King's Army: However, he was sent to *Middleton* with a Body of Three Thousand Horse and Dragoons to follow the King into the West, and to wait upon his Rear with Orders to reduce in his Way *Donnington-Castle*, which yet he could not Effect. Things being in this ill posture with *Essex*, he resolv'd, that Sir *William Balfour* should use his utmost Endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them escape by Sea. And Two Foot Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *Frenchman*, came over from them, and assured the King that they intended that Night to break through with their Horse, which were all then drawn on that Side the River, and Town of *Listibiel*; and that the Foot were to March to *Foy*, where they should be Embarked. Thereupon Order was given, that both Armies (for that under Prince *Maurice* was look'd upon as distinct, and always so Quarter'd) should stand to their Armes all that Night; and if the Horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both Quarters; the Passage between them, through which they must go, being but a Musquet-shot over; and they could not avoid going near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified, in which Fifty Musqueteers were placed. Advertisment was sent to *Goring*, and all the Horse, and the Orders renew'd, which had formerly been given for

for the breaking down the Bridges, and cutting down the Trees near the high Way, to obstruct their passage. But, the Night growing dark and misty, about Three in the Morning the whole Body of the Horse passed with great Silence between the Armies, and within Pistol-shot of the Cottage, without so much as one Musquet discharged at them. At break of Day the Horse were discover'd marching over the Heath, beyond the reach of the Foot, and there was only at Hand the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That Brigade, to which some other Troops which had taken the Alarm join'd, follow'd them in the Rear, and kill'd some and took more Prisoners; but stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet follow'd in that manner, that they kill'd and took about a Hundred, which was the greatest Damage they sustain'd in their whole March.

Balfour,
with the
Earl of Es-
sex's Horse,
escapes thro'
the King's
Army.

Next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Lisithiel*, and marched towards *Foy*, having left Order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his New Fort discern'd it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly Beat those that were left, and thereby preserv'd the Bridge, over which the King presently marched to overtake the Rear of their Army, which marched so fast, yet in good Order, that they left Two Demy-Culverins, and Two other very good Guns, and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That Day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; but the next Day the 1st of September, in the Morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Essex*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Boconnoke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. As soon as he was sent away the Earl embarked himself, with the Lord *Roberts*, and such other Officers as he had most Kindness for in a

Essex
leaves his
Army, and
escapes to
Plymouth
Sea.

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Vessel at *Foy*, and so escaped into *Plymouth*, leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the Care of Major General *Skippon*, who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short Stay in *Plymouth*, he went on Board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there, and was within few Days, deliver'd at *London*.

*Skippon's
Speech at
the Council
of War,
Sept. 1.*

Skippon thus deserted, would in this short Speech have perswaded the Foot to make the same Attempt to Escape as the Horse had done.

Gentlemen, you see our General, and some Chief Officers, have thought fit to leave us, and our Horse are got away; we are left alone upon our Defence; that which I propound to you is this, that we having the same Courage as our Horse had, and the same God to Assist us, may make the same Trial of our Fortunes, and endeavour to make our Way through our Enemies, as they have done, and account it better to die with Honour and Faithfulness than to live Dishonourable.

But this seeming too Rash and Desperate, and the King Consenting to a Parley, *Skippon* makes these Proposals.

*Skippon's
Proposals
for the Army.*

That *Philip Skippon* Major General, now Commander in Chief of the Army, with Major General *Whichcote*, with all Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Sergeant-Majors, Captains, and all other Officers and Soldiers, with Ministers, Doctors of Physick, Apothecaries, and all others depending on the said Army, as well those within the Garrison of *Foy*, as those immediately under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, both Horse and Foot, might March with all their Artillery, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, their Colours Display'd, Bullet in Mouth, Match Fired, with a safe Conduct to *Plymouth*, and thence with their Conveniencies to *London*, or elsewhere.

That all Gentlemen, or others, that are now in the Army, and in the Garrison of *Foy* aforesaid, may have the like Liberty, with their Horses, Arms and Baggage, either to march with the Army, and those of *Foy* to *Plymouth*, or else to their own Habitations, and enjoy their Estates with

without Plundering, and have safe Protection accordingly. 1644.

That none of the King's Armies, Soldiers or Others, should Plunder, Molest or Trouble, any of the Army, and the Garrison of *Foy*, and those Gentlemen attending upon the Army, during their march to *Plymouth*.

That all Sick and Wounded Officers and Soldiers, and Others, who are either in the Army or Garrison of *Foy*, which by reason of their Indisposition and Weakness cannot march with the Army, might have Liberty with their Baggage to Transport themselves to *Plymouth*, and that Shipping might be provided with the First Opportunity for that Purpose, with a safe Conduct, for which Hostages should be given.

That the said Army, Garrison of *Foy*, and the Gentlemen, and Others abovesaid, may have Forty-eight Hours, after the Answer hereof, to send a Messenger with a Drum or Trumpet to his Excellency the Earl of *Effex*, and a safe Conduct for that Purpose.

That during the time of the Cessation no Officer or Soldier should discourse with, or enter the Quarters of each other, excepting such as should be agreed upon by the Commissioners on each Side.

That after the Forty-eight Hours past, having received his Excellencies Approbation of the Articles agreed on, they desired Twenty-four Hours Liberty to prepare for their March.

That there might be Six Days allowed for their March to *Plymouth*, after the Day they began their March.

That all Teams for Carriage with the Carters that should be pressed for that Service, might have Liberty to go Home with their Horses and Harnets, and have a safe Conduct.

But the Royalists being not willing to agree to these Demands, the following Articles, after long and high Debates, were Signed by both Parties, viz.

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1. That all the Officers and Soldiers, as well of Horse and Foot, under the Command of the Earl of Essex, being at the time of the Conclusion of that Treaty on the West Side of the River Foy, should next Day, being the Second of September, by Eleven in the Morning, deliver up near the Old Castle in their own Quarters, all their Cannon and Train of Artillery, with all Carriages, Necessaries and Materials thereunto belonging, and likewise all the Arms Offensive and Defensive, both of Horse and Foot, and all Powder, Bullet, Match and Ammunition whatsoever, unto such Officers as the General of his Majesties Artillery should appoint to receive the same, except only the Swords and Pistols of all Officers above the Degree of Corporals, who were by this Agreement to wear and carry the same away.

2. That immediately after the delivery up of the said Artillery, Arms and Ammunition, &c. all Officers and Soldiers, both of Horse and Foot, of the said Army, should march out of their Quarters to Listithiel, with their Colours, of Horse and Foot, Trumpets and Drums; and that all Officers of Foot, above the Degree of Serjeants, should take with them such Horses and Servants as properly belonged unto themselves, as also all Reformed Officers, their Horses and Arms, not exceeding the Number of Fifty, and also to keep with them all the Bag and Baggage, and Waggon, with their Teams of Horses properly belonging to the said Officers.

3. That they should have a safe Convoy of a Hundred Horse from their Quarters, to Listithiel, and thence in their March the nearest convenient Way to Pool and Wareham, provided that they secured the said Convoys return to Bridgewater, or his Majesty's Army, and that in their March they touched not at any Garrison.

4. That in Case they should march from Pool to any other Place by Land, that neither they, nor any of them should bear Arms, more than was allowed by that Agreement, nor do any Hostile Act until they came to Southampton or Plymouth.

5. The

5. That all the Sick and Wounded Officers and Soldiers of that Army, who were not able to march, should be left at Foy, and there secured from any Violence to their Persons or Goods, and Care taken of them until such time as they could be conveniently transported to Plymouth.

6. That all the Officers and Soldiers, for the better Convenience of their march, should be permitted to receive all such Moneys, Provisions or Victuals, and other Accommodations, as they should be able to procure from Plymouth, to which End they should have a Pass granted for any Persons, not exceeding the Number of Twelve, whom they should send for the same.

7. That there should be no inviting of any Soldiers, but that such as would voluntarily come to his Majesty's Service, should not be hindred.

8. Lastly, That the Subscribers agreed and engaged their Faiths and Honours that all the above-written Articles should be kept inviolable.

Maurice, Brainford,
Ph. Skippon, Christ. Whichcote.

Here before we go any farther, we are to take Notice that the Garrison of *Basing-House*, the Seat of the Marquis of *Winchester*, in which himself was and commanded, had been now fireightly Belieged for the space of above Three Months, by a Conjunction of the Parliament Troops of *Hampshire* and *Suffex*, under the Command of *Norton*, *Onslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*, a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a Place of such Importance, that when the King sent Notice to *Oxford* of his Resolution to march, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, that he would make *Basing* his Way, and thereby Relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him, and therefore declined it. From that time the Marquis, by

Siege of
Basing-
House.

A Compleat HISTORY of EUROPE,

frequent expreffes importuned the Lords of the Council ' to provide, in fome manner, for his Relief, and not to fuffer his Perfon, and a Place ' from whence the Rebels receiv'd fo much Prejudice, to fall into their Hands. The Lady Marchionefs, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*, and follicit-
 ed very diligently the timely Prefervation of her Husband, which made every Body defire to gratifie her, being a Lady of great Honour and Alliance as being Sifter to the Earl of *Effex*, and to the Lady Marchionefs of *Hertford*, who was likewife in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this Bufinefs to Heart: And the *Roman* Catholicks, who were Numerous in the Town, look'd upon themfelves as concern'd to Contribute all they could to the good Work, and fo offer'd to lift themfelves and their Servants in the Service. The Council at *Oxford* was very heartily difpos'd to effect it; and had feveral Conferences together, and with the Officers, in all which the Governour *Aston* very reafonably opposed the Design, ' as full of more Difficulties, and liable to greater Damages, than any ' Soldier who underftood Command, would ' expofe himfelf and the King's Service to; and protefted, ' that he would not fuffer any of the ' fmall Garrifon that was under his Charge to be ' hazarded in the Attempt. Yet new Importunities from the Marquis, with a Positive Declaration, ' that he could not defend it above Ten Days, ' and muft then fubmit to the worft Conditions ' the Enemy were like to grant to his Perfon, and to ' his Religion, and new Inftance from his Lady, ' prevails'd with the Lords to enter upon a new Consultation; in which the Governour perfifted in his old Refolution, as feeing no Caufe to change it. In this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, ' that ' though he thought the Service full of Hazard, epecially for the return; yet if the Lords would, ' by lifting their own Servants, perfwade the Gentlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage their own Perfons, whereby a good Troop or Two of ' Horfe might be raifed (upon which the Principal Dependance muft be) he would willingly, if there ' were no Body elfe thought fitter for it, undertake ' the

the Conduct of them himself, and hoped he should give a good Account of it.

About this time, by the Surrender of *Greenland-House* to the Parliamentarians, the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins* was march'd in *Oxford*, amounting to near Three Hundred, to which as many others join'd as made it up Four Hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Servants upon their own Horses, and they, with the Voluntiers, amounted to a Body of Two Hundred and Fifty very good Horse, all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*, an Excellent Officer, Bred up in *Flanders* in some Emulation with Colonel *Gage*: With this small Party *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the beginning of the Night, and by the Morning reached the Place where he intended to refresh himself and his Troops, which was a Wood near *Wallingford*, from whence he dispatched an Express to Sir *William Ogle*, Governour of *Winchester*, who had made a Promise to the Lords of the Council, that whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the Siege before *Basing*, he would send one Hundred Horse, and Three Hundred Foot, out of his Garrison for their Assistance, and a Presumption upon this Aid was the Principal Motive for the Undertaking: And so he was directed at what Hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing Park*, in the Rear of the Enemies Quarters, whilst *Gage* himself would fall on the other Side, the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Sallies from the House. After some Hours of Refreshment the Troops marched through By-Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great Rode, where they intended to take more rest that Night. But about Eleven they began their march again, which they continued all that Night; the Horsemen often alighting that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them.

Between Four and Five in the Morning they arrived within a Mile of *Basing*, where an Officer sent from Sir *William Ogle* came to them to let them know, that he durst not send his Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemy's Horse lay between *Winchester* and *Basing*.

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However, they marched towards the House, Colonel *Web* leading the Right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkly* the Left of the Horse, and *Gage* himself the Foot: They had not marched far, when at the upper End of a large Champaign Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discern'd a Body of Five Cornets of Horse very full, standing in very good Order to receive them. But before any Impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between Two Hedges lined very thick with Musqueteers, from whom the Horse very courageously bore a smart Volley, and then Charged the Enemy's Horse so Gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave Ground; and at last plainly run to a safe Place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the Business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into the Quarters and Works, which they did not abandon in less than Two Hours, and than a free entrance into the House was gain'd on that Side, where the Colonel only staid to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only Twelve Barrels of Powder, and Twelve Hundred Weight of Match, and immediately marched with his Horse and Foot to *Basingstoke*, a good Market Town Two Miles from the House, leaving One Hundred Foot to be led by some Officers of the Garrison to the Town of *Basing*, a Village but a Mile distant, and then returned with all the Diligence and Security he could to *Oxford*.

The King in the interim of this Success thought fit to renew his Offer of Peace, and sent a Message to the Two Houses of Parliament, to desire that there might be a Treaty to that Purpose, which Message was sent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Essex*, after his repair to *London*, to be deliver'd by him, of which there was no Consideration taken in Three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was perswaded in his Way to look upon *Plymouth*; and having sent a Summons to the Town, he receiv'd a rude Answer to it: for the Earl of *Essex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town, a Man of a soure Nature, a great Opiniatre, and one who

must

must be overcome, before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, pursued his former Resolution and marched away, having committed the Blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Richard Greenvil, a Man who had been Bred a Soldier, and of great Expectation, but of greater Promises. The King by this time found his Army much diminished, and having not staid a full Week at Exeter, hasten'd his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he staid longer, and put out the following Proclamation.

That amidst the many Troubles wherewith (for more King's Pro-
than Two Years together) he had been involved, no-
thing had more afflicted him than the real Sense of his at Chard.
Subjects Sufferings, occasioned by that most unnatural
War, and that the chief of his Care had been, and by
God's Assistance still should be, to settle them in an hap-
py Peace; with that freedom in enjoying the Exercise of
their Religion, Rights and Liberties, according to the
Laws of the Kingdom, as they, or any of their Ance-
stors, had enjoy'd the same, in the best time of the late
Queen Elizabeth, or his Royal Father: That as he had
always profess'd in the Sincerity of his Heart, no Suc-
cess should ever make him averse unto Peace, so he had
always, when God had bless'd him with any Eminent
Victory, sollicit'd the Members of Both Houses at West-
minster, by frequent Messages, for a Treaty conducing
to the same, and particularly upon his Late Victory over
Essex his Army in Cornwall, had presently dispatch'd
a Message to them for an Accommodation, to which yet
he had received no Answer. That therefore he resolv'd
with his Army to draw presently towards his
Southern and Eastern Counties, not looking upon those
Parts as Enemies to him, and so to suffer by the Approach
and Disorder of his Army, which he would use all
possible Means to prevent; but as his poor Subjects op-
pressed by Power, of whom he was confident the great-
est Part remained Loyal to him, and so deserving his
Protection; and that he hop'd upon a nearer Approach
such a right Understanding might be had between
them, that at length he might obtain a Treaty for Peace,
and a full, free and peaceable Convention in Parlia-
ment, and therein an End be made of those unhappy
Differences

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Differences by a good Accommodation; in which he hereby assured all his People, upon his Royal Word, and the Faith of a Christian, that he would insist only upon the Settling and Continuance of the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his own undoubted known Rights, the Priviledge of Parliament, and his Subjects Liberty and Property, according to the Laws of the Land, and to have all those settled in a full and free Parliament, whereby the Armies on both Sides might be presently Disbanded, the Kingdom Secured from the Danger of a Conquest by Foreign Forces, all Strangers then in Arms return to their own Countries, and his poor Subjects freed from those grievous Burdens, which by reason of the late Distractions, much against his Will, had too much pressed them: And that his Subjects might no longer be misled by false Pretences, he desired all of them, as well in his own Quarters, as where the Rebels had usurped a Power, to take into serious Consideration, the Duty and Loyalty, which by the Laws of God and their Oath of Allegiance, they owed him; and more particularly that Part thereof which concerned the Defence of his Person, and assisting him against Rebels, and such as rose in Arms against him, which they might find plainly set down in the Statute of the 11th of Henry VII. c. 1. And he did hereby require his Subjects within his own Quarters, thro' or near which he should pass, by the Duty they owed him and their Country, forthwith to prepare themselves with the best Arms they could get, to be ready and go along with him in that Expedition, (he resolving to take especial Care to place them under the Command of Gentlemen of Quality of their own Countries, to their own Content and Satisfaction) and he likewise Required and Authorized all his Subjects, as well the Trained Bands as others of the City of London, and his Southern and Eastern Counties, to chuse their own Commanders and Leaders, amongst those Gentlemen and Citizens that were of approved Loyalty to him, and Lovers of the Peace of their Country, and upon his Approach to those Parts to put themselves into Arms, and march in warlike Manner to assist him in that good Work, and free themselves from the Tyranny of their Fellow Subjects, under which they groaned; commanding them to Seize such Places of
Strength

1644.

Strength as the Rebels possist, to oppose with Force such as should resist them, and to secure all such as should endeavour to continue that Rebellion; and hinder the settling of the Peace of the Kingdom in a full and free Convention of Parliament: wherein he would afford his utmost Protection and Safety unto all his good Subjects that should give Obedience to those his Commands; and he doubted not but that they would come chearfully to his Assistance for such good Ends, beyond which he did not require it, and so he trusted that God, who had hitherto wonderfully preserved him, would Crown that Action with happy Success, for his Glory, and the Welfare of the Nation.

Every thing did not succeed as the King would have it, notwithstanding the great Success lately had against the Parliaments Army under Essex; and being arrived at Sherborn, from whence the Commissioners of Somersetshire were sent to, to make good their Undertakings for Money and Cloaths for the Army, some of the Chief of them attended him there, and presented a Petition to him, which seems to have its Rise from his Proclamation at Chard before-mentioned, which with his Majesty's Answer, and the Gentlemen's Address to the Lords and Commons at Westminster, together with Publick Declarations of their Intentions, take as follow.

The Somersetshire Petition Oct.

THAT among the many Miseries the present VVar had brought upon them, it had been a great Comfort to them to see his Majesty's Pious Inclinations to, and continued Endeavours for, settling a Peace again; and they had hoped that his Gracious Message to that Purpose would have produced the desired Effect; but that not finding the Success answerable to their Expectations, and his Majesty being then upon a March nearer unto London, they humbly besought they might have Liberty to wait in Person upon him, and at a nearer Distance of Place become Petitioners to the Lords and Commons of Parliament Assembled at Westminster, to embrace his Majesties Gracious Offers of Peace, and put an End to the Calamities of that distracted and almost ruined Nation, with due Care, to the Preservation of the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his Majesties Rights and Honours, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Subjects Liberty and Property, according to the Laws of the Kingdom; and that

1644. *that in Case they might not obtain so just a Request, they should hold their Lives best spent in assisting his Majesty to compass that by the Sword, which by any other fair and just Way could not be effected; to which End they desired Liberty to put themselves in Arms, and as they always lived, should rejoice to die his Majesties Loyal Subjects.*

King's Answer.

THE Duke of Richmond by Way of Answer, told them he was commanded by his Majesty to signify, that he well approved of their Hearty and Loyal Affections, and was graciously pleased to accept the free Offer of their Service to him with Thanks, and gave them free Liberty to meet and put themselves in Arms according to their Desire, and wait upon him; and did freely give leave to them to be Petitioners to the Lords and Commons at Westminster, for composing the unhappy Differences of that Poor Kingdom in a peaceable Way, and should be glad to have the Petitioners, and all other his Loyal Subjects, present with him, and be Witnesses who was in the Fault, if they were not presently restored to a happy Peace again; he hereby assuring them that he would only insist upon the Preservation of the True Reformed Protestant Religion, his own known Rights, the Priviledges of Parliament, and his Subjects Liberty and Property, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, and should endeavour to have them all settled in a full and free Convention of Parliament. And because he would not have the good Intentions of the Petitioners frustrated, he wished them to take Care to make such Provisions as might be necessary for their Journey, and they should not fail of his best Assistance likewise therein: And his Majesty commanded the Sheriff of the said County to summon the Posse thereof, or any other Persons or Inhabitants of the same, at such Times, and to such Places, as the Commissioners should think fit for the Advancement of this Business.

Richmond and Lenox.

Their Declaration.

WHereas we have lately conceived very great Hopes that those many Gracious Overtures from his Majesty to those at London, especially from Evesham, and

Tavistock, since his late Success, might have given a Rise to such a happy Treaty as might have cleared those Misunderstandings between his Majesty and his People, and consequently have put an End to these Bleeding Differences: But contrary to our Expectations those Gracious Messages have found either such cold Reception, or unsatisfying Answers, that they have been hitherto fruitless and ineffectual, we are resolved, notwithstanding all our Discouragements, by laying before them the Calamities of the Kingdom, once more to invite them to the same Sence thereof which we have: And as we have been Witnesses of his Majesties Gracious Offers, so we will wait upon him to be Witnesses of his Performance of them, being all of us such Persons whom the Profession of the Protestant Religion, and our Interest in the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, obliges to have as tender a Respect of the Violation of these as any they can have: The Sum of our Resolution is to follow his Majesty towards London, (as one Man) either to propose to them, or receive from them such Propositions as may restore this Kingdom to all the Comforts and Blessings of Peace; that having always agreed in the same Pretensions, we may no longer make our selves the Wonder of this present Age, nor the Amazement of the future, when they shall enquire why so much Blood hath been shed, there hardly appearing any Difference, even so much as in Words: And whosoever in this County shall refuse to accompany us, we shall look upon him as an Enemy to Peace, and shall proceed against him accordingly: Not doubting (tho' we are the first who have undertaken unanimously to desire a Concurrence in mediating this Peace) but the universal Kingdom being involved in the same Misery, will either second or approve this our Example: But if these our Professors of Peace can find no Place with our Opposers, it will then be so evident by their Refusal who are the Continuers of, and by their continuing the Dispute, it will be so clear who were the Contrivers of these Mischiefs, and consequently the Authors of all the Miseries we have suffered, and from henceforth of whatever we shall suffer, that all Men who have any Bowels left towards their Bleeding Country, any Sence of Pity, any Desire

1644. *Desire of Peace, or Weariness of War, will join with us in following his Majesty, either to redeem the Kingdom from these Miseries by an happy Victory, or our selves from them, by dying in the Pursuit of them: And we doubt not but to have that Blessing upon us which is promised to those that seek Peace, and pursue it.*

To the Lords and Commons of Parliament,
Assembled at Westminster,

The Humble Petition of the Gentry, Clergy,
Freeholders, and Others his Majesty's Protestant
Subjects of the County of Somerset.

The Petition.
en.

TH O' we have been very much discouraged from making any Addresses to you of this Nature, by reason that those many, made by his Majesty, have been hitherto ineffectual, yet being moved not only by his constant and unwearied Example, but by that most Gracious Expression of his Sense of our Miseries in this Particular, that he descends to suffer us to make an Humble Overture of that for which, in all Equity, he ought to have been Petitioned by you. And believing that you, who have an equal Share in the Sufferings, cannot but have an equal Sense of the Calamities of the Kingdom, we humbly offer to your Consideration, that we do profess the same Protestant Religion, and have an equal Interest in the Liberties and Properties of the Subject with you, cannot be so false to our selves, as either to give up that to Popery, or those to an Arbitrary Government. That as we come now to Hazard our Lives with his Majesty upon a well-grounded Belief of his Promises, so we will be no less ready to engage them in being Sureties for his real Performance, and therefore desire you to lay by the too tender Sense of those imaginary Evils, which you only fear, and to join Hands with us in an happy Treaty for the Removal of those real Evils, which we so sensibly suffer: And as we have always met in the same Professions, so we may at last meet in the real Performance of what we have so long profest, the Maintenance of the Protestant Religion, the Safety of his Majesties Person, and undoubted Rights, the

Liberty

Liberty and Property of the Subject, and just Priviledges of Parliament.

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The King found but little Effect as things were managed from these Resolutions; however the Attacking and Dispersing some of Waller's Troops at Andover some time after, raised the Spirits of the King's Army, that they desired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themselves in his Way. And so he resolv'd to raise the Siege of Donnington-castle, and to that purpose he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a Place appointed between Andover and Newbury, where he staid with his Army till they came up to him, and then marched together to Newbury, within a Mile of Donnington. The Blockade of this Castle had been left to the Care of Colonel Horton, who for some time was contented to Block it up, but resolv'd at last to Besiege it, raised a Battery on the Foot of the Hill next Newbury, and plyed it so with his great Cannon, that after Twelve Days continual shooting he beat down Three Towers, and a Part of the Wall; which he believ'd had so humbled the Governour and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been: And therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own Clemency, that prevailed with him, now they were even at his Mercy, to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave up the Castle before Wednesday at Ten of the Clock in the Morning; but if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the Presence of God, that there should no Man amongst them have his Life spared. The Governour made himself merry with his high and menacing Language; and sent him word he would keep the Place, and neither give nor receive Quarter. At this time the Earl of Manchester himself with his Forces came to Newbury, and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons than Horton had done before, he resolv'd to Storm it the next Day.

Siege of Donnington Castle raised.

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Banbury-
Castle re-
liev'd by the
Earl of
Northamp-
ton, Oct.
26.

But his Soldiers, being well inform'd of the Resolution of those within, declined that hot Service, and plyed it with their Artillery until the next Night, and then removed their Battery to the other side of the Castle, and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governour made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their Trenches, and kill'd a Lieutenant Colonel, who commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers, shot their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought away their Cannon Baskets, and many Arms, and retired with very little loss; Yet the next Night they finished their Battery, and continued some Days their great Shot, till they heard of the King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ordnance and their Train'd-bands of *London* being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater Distance; there having been in Nineteen Days, above One Thousand great Shot spent upon the Walls, without any other Damage to the Garrison, than the beating down some old Parts thereof. On the other Hand *Banbury* being much streightned for want of Victuals, they having already eaten most of their Horses, his Majesty was well Content that the Earl of *Northampton*, with Three Regiments of Horse, should attempt the relieving it; Letters being sent to *Oxford*, that Colonel *Gage*, with some Horse and Foot from thence, should meet him, which they did punctually; and they found the Parliaments Horse drawn up in Five Bodies on the South Side of the Town, near their Sconce: But Two or Three Shots, made at them out of a Couple of Drakes made them stagger, and retire from their Ground very Disorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been sent out of the Town the Night before, and their Foot, being above Seven Hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon the first Advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage*, with the Foot, went directly to the Castle, that they might be at Liberty, whilst the Earl of *Northampton* follow'd the Horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand, where he furiously Charged and Routed them; and notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musqueteers, pursued

sued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed. The Foot, for the most Part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the Inclosures, before Colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken in the pursuit one Field-piece, and Three Waggon of Arms and Ammunition, many Slain, and Two Officers of Horse, with near One Hundred other Prisoners, Four Cornets of Horse, and Two Hundred Horses, were taken; and all this with the Loss of One Captain and Nine Troopers, some Officers and others being wounded, but not mortally.

Though the Relief of *Banbury* succeeded to wish, yet the King paid Dear for it soon after: The very Day after that Service was perform'd, Colonel *Hurry*, a *Scotchman*, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament, had in the West, about the time the King entered into *Cornwal*, desired a Pass to go beyond the Seas, and so quitted the King's Service: But instead of Embarking himself, made haste to *London*, and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, and made a Discovery of all he knew of the King's Army, and a Description of the Persons and Customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the Constitution and Weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertisement of the Earl of *Northampton's* being gone, with Three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within Two Days after, all those Forces which had been under *Essex* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester*, (with whom likewise the Train'd-bands of *London* were now join'd) advanced towards the King, who was inferior in strength, and saw now it was too late to hope to make a Safe retreat to *Oxford*, when the whole Body of the Enemies Army, which had receiv'd positive Orders to Fight the King, as soon as was possible, appear'd as near as *Thackham*: So that his Majesty resolv'd to stand upon the Defensive only, hoping that, upon the Advantage he had of the Town of *Newbury* and the River, the Enemy would not speedily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being compell'd to lye in the Field, which grew now to be very Cold, whilst his Army

The Second
Battle of
Newbury.

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was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King Quarter'd in the Town of *Newbury*, and placed strong Guards on the South of the Town: But greatest Part of the Army was placed towards the Enemy's Quarters; directly North from thence were Two open Fields, where most of the Horse stood with the Train of Artillery, and about half a Mile West was the Village of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village lay all Prince *Maurice's* Foot and some Horse, and at the Entrance of the Heath a Work was cast up, which clear'd the Heath. In this Posture they had many Skirmishes with the Enemy for Two Days, But without losing any Ground. On *Sunday* Morning, the 17th of *October*, by break of Day, a Thousand of the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, with the Train'd-bands of *London*, came down the Hill, and pass'd the River that Way by *Shaw*, and undiscover'd, forced that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House, that was entrench'd, where *Sir Barnard Astley* lay, who instantly with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy, and not only routed them, but compell'd them to rout Two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to Second them. In this Pursuit very many of the Parliamentarians were Slain, and many Drown'd in the River, and above Two Hundred Arms taken. There continued, all that Day, very warm Skirmishes in several Parts, the Enemy's Army having almost encompassed the King's, and with much more loss to them than to the King; till about Three in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Effex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen* and pass'd the River: They march'd in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath, from whence the Horse, which were left there, with little Resistance, retired. By this Means they possess'd themselves of the Ordnance which had been planted there, and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retired to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*, which they made good: At the same time the Right Wing of the Parliament Horse Advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with



an Hundred Musqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horse stood, which at first receiv'd them in some disorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, charged them with so much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body, which then fled; and he had the Execution of them near half a Mile, wherein most of the Musqueteers were Slain, and very many of the Horse, insomuch that that whole Wing raillied not again that Night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field, and could not, by his own Presence, restrain those Horse which at the first Approach of the Enemy were in that Disorder, from shamefully giving Ground. So that if Sir *John Cansfield* had not in that Nick of Time given them that Brisk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himself had been in very great Danger.

At the same time the left Wing of the Parliaments Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring*, with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, charg'd them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great Confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was charged by another fresh Body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the Place; having not only routed and beaten them off their Ground, but endur'd the Shot of Three Bodies of their Foot in their retreat with no considerable Damage, save that the Earl of *Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner: Whilst this was doing on that Side, Twelve Hundred Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, of those under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Shaw-House*, and the Field adjacent, which Quarter was defended by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and Colonel *George Lisle*, and the House by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*. They at first drove Forty Musqueteers from a Hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charg'd by Sir *John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse,

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who did good Execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in *Doleman's* Garden, which flanked that Field, and give Fire upon those Horse; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, Sir *John Brown* fell on their Rear, kill'd many, and kept that Ground all the Day; when the Reserve of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Thelwell*, gall'd their Foot with several Vollies, and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field, leaving Two Drakes, some Colours, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time a Body of their Foot attempted *Doleman's* House, but were so well entertain'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first Effort they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with considerable Execution; in somuch that they left Five Hundred, dead upon a little Spot of Ground; and they drew off the Two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now Night, for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who been had on that Side, where the Enemy only had prevail'd, thought that his Army had suffer'd alike in all other Places. He saw they were entirely possessed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easie for them before the next Morning, to have compassed him round: Whereupon as soon as it was Night his Majesty retired into the Fields under *Donnington-Castle*, and about Ten of the Clock all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders drew forth their several Guards to the Heath about *Donnington-Castle*; in which they left most of their wounded Men, with all their Ordnance, Ammunition and Carriages: Then Prince *Maurice*, and the other Officers, marched in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up

up the Rear to Sir *Humphry Bennet*, who with his Brigade of Horse March'd behind, and by the Morning all the Army, Foot as well as Horse arriv'd at *Wallingford*; where having Refresh'd a little they march'd to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that looked after them.

The next Day the Parliamentarians possess'd themselves of *Newbury*, and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington-Castle*, and summon'd the Governour to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one Stone upon another. To which the Governour made no other Reply than that he was not bound to repair it; but however he would, by God's Help, keep the Ground afterwards: Seeing his Obstinacy they offer'd him to March away with the Arms, and all Things belonging to the Garrison, and when that moved not, that he should carry all the Cannon and Ammunition with him; to all which he Answer'd, 'that he wonder'd they would not be satisfied with so many Answers that he had sent, and desired them to be assured that he would not go out of the Castle till the King sent him Order so to do. Offended with these high Answers, they resolv'd to Assault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party being kill'd, with some few of the Soldiers, they retired, and never after made any Attempt upon it; but remained quietly at *Newbury* divided among themselves; every Man taking upon to find Fault and censure what had had been done, and had been left undone, in the whole Day's Service.

Things also began now to grow very uneasy in the Court at *Oxford*, and some of the King's Military Officers had not that right Understanding they ought to have had amongst themselves. There had moreover a Counsel been enter'd upon, which turn'd to the King's Disadvantage, which was the Cessation of Arms in *Ireland*, agreed to in Hopes to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that

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united Kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the Parliamentarians in this. But now as all the Supplies he had receiv'd from thence upon the Cessation had been already destroyed without any Benefit to the King, so his Majesty found that he should not be able to make a Peace there, and then the Government there would be in the worse Condition, by being depriv'd of so many good Officers and Soldiers upon the Conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Roman Catholicks to treat a Peace; the Lord Lieutenant, and Council had sent likewise Commissioners, to inform the King of all things necessary to be consider'd in the Treaty; and the Parliament, which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace, and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made.

*Propositions
from Ire-
land reject-
ed by the
King.*

The Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholicks demanded 'the Abrogation and
' Repeal of all those Laws which were in Force
' against the Exercise of the Roman Religion:
' That the Lieutenant, or Chief Governour, should
' be a Roman Catholick; and that there should
' be no Distinction made, whereby those of that
' Religion should not be capable of any Pre-
' ferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Pro-
' testants, together with the Repeal of several Laws
' which that Nation thought to have been made in
' their Prejudice.

The Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy Council) professed, 'that
' they desired a Peace might be made; but propo-
' sed in order, as they said, to the Security of the
' Kingdom, 'that all the *Irish* might be Disarm'd,
' and such among them as had been most Signal
' and Barbarous in the Massacres in the beginning
' of the Rebellion, might be excepted from
' Pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost Rigour
' of Law: That the Laws might be put in
' Execution against all Roman Catholicks, and es-
pecially

‘pecially against all Jesuits, Priests, and Friars;
‘and that they might be obliged to pay all the
‘Damages which had been sustain’d by the
‘War.

The Commissioners from the Protestants demanded, ‘that the Cessation might be Dissolv’d,
‘and the War carried on with the utmost Rigour, according to the Acts of Parliament that
‘had been made in the beginning of the Rebellion; and that no Peace might be made on any
‘Conditions.

The King demanded of the *Irish*, ‘whether
‘they believ’d it could be in his Power, if it
‘were agreeable to his Conscience, to grant them
‘their Demands? And whether he must not thereby
‘purchase *Ireland* with the Loss of *England* and
‘*Scotland*? There were among them some sober
Men, who confessed, ‘that as his Majesty’s Affairs then stood, they believ’d he could not grant
‘it; and they hoped, that their General Assembly
‘would, when they should be inform’d of the
‘Truth of his Majesty’s Condition, which was
‘not known to them, be perswaded to depart
‘from some of their Demands; but that for
‘the present they had not Authority to recede
‘from any one Proposition.

The King then asked the Commissioners who
had been sent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*
Lieutenant of the Kingdom, ‘which Forces they
‘thought to be the stronger, the King’s Army,
‘or that of the Rebels? They confessed ‘the Rebels to be much superior in Power, and that
‘they were possessed of more than Three Parts
‘of the Kingdom. The King then asked them,
‘whether they thought it probable, now they
‘found themselves to be the stronger, that the
‘Rebels would be perswaded to yield to be so
‘wholly at the Mercy of those whom they
‘had so much provoked? And if they could be
‘so disposed, whether they believ’d that they
‘were able, though they should be willing, to
‘Sell all they had in *Ireland* to Pay the Damages
‘which had been sustain’d by the War? The
Commissioners acknowledged, ‘that they thought
‘the

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‘ the last impossible; and that there might be a
 ‘ Mitigation in that particular: But for the
 ‘ former they durst not advise his Majesty to
 ‘ recede at all; for that there could be no o-
 ‘ ther Security for the Protestants in that King-
 ‘ dom, but by leaving the *Irish* without any Ca-
 ‘ pacity or Ability to Trouble them: For their
 ‘ Pertidiousness was such that they could not be
 ‘ trusted, and therefore they must be put into
 ‘ such a Condition, by being totally Disarm’d,
 ‘ that they should not be able to do any Mil-
 ‘ chief; or else all the Protestants must leave
 ‘ the Kingdom to the entire Possession of the
 ‘ *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Maje-
 ‘ sty’s Service and Security they must refer to his
 ‘ own Wisdom.

The King then sent for the Commissioners from
 the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants,
 and asked them, ‘ whether they were ready, if
 ‘ the Cessation were expired, to renew the War,
 ‘ and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction
 ‘ or Suppression of the *Irish*? They answer’d
 very clearly, ‘ that in the State they were in,
 ‘ they could not carry on the War, or defend
 ‘ themselves against the *Irish*, who were much
 ‘ Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty
 ‘ would recruit his Army, and send over Money,
 ‘ and Arms, and Ammunition, with Ship-
 ‘ ping, they made no doubt, but with God’s
 ‘ Blessing they should be able shortly to reduce
 ‘ them, and drive them out of the Kingdom.
 The King then asked them, whether they did
 ‘ in Truth think that his Majesty was able to
 ‘ send them such Supplies as they stood in need
 ‘ of? Or whether they did not in their Con-
 ‘ sciences know that he was not able to send
 ‘ them any Part of it, and stood in want of all
 ‘ for his own Support? They answer’d, ‘ that
 ‘ they hoped he would make a Peace with the
 ‘ Parliament, and would then be able to send over
 ‘ such Assistance to *Ireland*, as would quickly settle
 ‘ that Kingdom.

But after all these Discourses, his Majesty pre-
 vailed not with any of them to depart from any
 of

of their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them, and told the *Irish*, 'it had been in their Power so far to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some Particulars, which were not now seasonable to have been done; but they would repent this their senseless Perverseness, when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a Power that would destroy them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

These and other Matters about sending the Prince of *Wales* into the West much perplex'd the King, tho' it must be some Refreshment and Advantage to him, to hear that the Disorder the Parliament was in was superior to his. The violent Party there had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the Loss and Dishonour he had sustain'd in *Cornwal* very well, and would have been glad that both he and his Army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolv'd; for most of his Officers and Soldiers were corrupted in their Affections towards them, and desired nothing but Peace: So that they resolv'd never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was that the Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a fast Friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appear'd now as unapplicable to their Purposes as the other; and there was a Breach fallen out between him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some Counsels upon the Stage, before they were ripe. *Cromwell* accused *Manchester*, 'of having Betray'd the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that he might at the King's last being at *Newbury*, when he drew off his Cannon, very easily have defeated his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: That he went to him, and shew'd him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own Brigade

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gade of Horse, to Charge the King's Army in their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his Army, might look on, and do as he should think fit; but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all Importunity used by him and others Officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other Reason, but that he said if they did engage, and overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another Army to keep up the War; but if that Army which he commanded should be overthrown, before the other under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there would be an End of their Pretences; and they should be all Rebels and Traytors, and Executed and Forfeited by the Law.

This Pronunciation what the Law would do against them was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, that the Law was on their Side, and that the King's Arms were taken up against the Law. The Earl confessed he had used Words to that effect, that they should be treated as Traytors if their Army was defeated, when he did not approve the Advice that was given by the Lieutenant General; which would have exposed the Army to greater Hazard than he thought seasonable in that Conjunction, in the middle of the Winter, to expose it to. He then recriminated *Cromwell*, that at another Time *Cromwell* discoursing freely with him of the State of the Kingdom, and proposing somewhat to be done, the Earl had answer'd that the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* presently replied, My Lord, if you will stick firm to Honest Men you shall find your self in the Head of an Army that shall give Law to King and Parliament; which Discourse, he said, made great Impression on him: For he knew the Lieutenant General to be a Man of very deep Designs, and therefore he was the more careful to preserve an Army which he yet

yet thought was very faithful to the Parliament.

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This Discourse startled those who had always an Aversion to *Cromwell*, so that they desired that this Matter might be thoroughly Examined, and brought to Judgment. But the other Side put all Obstructions in the Way, and rather chose to lose the Advantage they had against the Earl of *Manchester*, than to have the other Matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some Discoveries they were not yet ready to produce. However, the Animosity encreased, and the Parties appear'd barefaced against each other, which augmented the Divisions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new Opinions started up in Religion, which made more Subdivisions, and new Terms and Distinctions were brought into Discourse, and *Fanaticks* were now first brought into Appellation. The *Scottish* Commissioners were as jealous and as unsatisfied as any other Party, and found, since the Battle of *York*, neither their Army nor themselves so much consider'd, as before, nor Condition perform'd toward them with any punctuality. They had long had Jealousies of *Cromwell*, and *Sir Henry Vane* and all that Party, which they saw encreased every Day, and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their sacred Vow and Covenant was mention'd with less Reverence and Respect, nay, several spake publicly against it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane*, were the Leaders: So that they saw no Way to prevent the Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace, which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a Treaty on Foot they knew not. The House of Peers generally wish'd it, but had no Power to compass it. In the House of Commons there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to purpose it. They who had an inward Aversion from it, and were resolv'd to prevent it by all possible Means

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Means, wrought upon many of the other to believe 'that they would accept of a Proposition for a Treaty if the King desired it; but that it 'would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious 'consequence to the Nation, if the Parliament 'first proposed it. They tried their old Friends of the City and set some of them to get Hands to a Petition by which the Parliament should be moved, to send to the King to Treat of Peace. But that Design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite Party were appointed to set a counter Petition on Foot, by which they should disclaim any Consent to or Approbation of the 'other Petition: Not that they did not desire Peace, 'they said, as much as their Neighbours, but that 'they would not presume to move the Parliam- 'ment in it, because they knew their Wisdoms 'knew best the Way to obtain it, and would do 'what was necessary and fit towards it; to which 'they wholly left it.

So that they who did in Truth desire any rea- sonable Peace, found the Way to it so difficult, and that it was possible to prevail with the Two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolv'd it could only arise from his Majesty; and to that purpose they should all labour with several Friends at *Oxford*, to incline the King to send a Message to the Parliament, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any Place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost Hazard before it should be rejected.

The Independent Party resolv'd to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside was the Difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been so entirely their Founder, that they owed not more to the Power and Reputation of the Parliament, than to his Sole Name and Credit: The being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King, was purely due to him, and the Effect of his Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army it self, where he was still exceedingly
Belov'd,

Belov'd; and to continue him in that Trust, was to lose their own Designs, and to render them Impracticable. Therefore till they could find some Expedient to explicate and disintangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no Advance towards the recruiting or supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter Expedition; only they sent *Waller* out with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolv'd to use their Service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great Alterations they intended to the Parliament; and of all Men the *Scotish* Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, my Lord Cl—— says, they resolv'd to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen Things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due Time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses that they would have a Solemn Fast Day, in which they would seek God, (which was the new Phrase they brought from *Scotland* with their Covenant) and desire his Assistance, to lead them out of the Perplexities they were in: And they did as readily agree in the Nomination of the Preachers who were to perform that Exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest Designs than most of those who named them were: For there was now a Schism among their Clergy, as well as the Laity, and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men. When the Fast Day came (continues my Lord) the Preachers prayed 'the Parliament might be inspired with those Thoughts, 'as might contribute to their Honour and Reputation, and that they might preserve that 'Opinion the Nation had of their Honesty and 'Integrity, and be without Selfish Ends, or seeking their own Benefit and Advantage. After 'this Preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, 'that it was no Wonder there 'was such Division among them in their Counsels, when there was no Union in their Hearts: 'That the Parliament lay under many Reproaches, 'not

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not only among their Enemies, but with their best Friends; who were the more out of Countenance, because they found that the Aspersions and Imputations which their Enemies had laid upon them were so well grounded that they could not wipe them off: That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition, as many Private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affection for the Publick, as they had ever imputed to the Court: That whilst they pretended, at the Publick Cost, and out of the Purses of the poor People, to make a general Reformation, their chief Care was to grow Great and Rich themselves; and that both the City and Kingdom took notice, with great Anxiety of Mind, that all the Offices of the Army, and all the profitable Offices of the Kingdom, were in the Hands of the Members of the Two Houses of Parliament; who, whilst the Nation grew Poor, as it must needs do under such insupportable Taxes, grew very Rich; and would, in a short Time, get all the Money of the Kindom into their Hands: And that it could not reasonably be expected that such Men, who got so much, and enriched themselves to that degree, by the continuance of the War, would heartily pursue those Ways which would put an end to it; the end whereof must put an end to their Exorbitant Profit. When they had exaggerated these Reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the Sense the People generally had of the Corruption of it, even to a Despair of ever seeing an end of the Calamities they sustain'd, or having any Prospect of that Reformation in Church and State which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, that God would take his own Work into his Hand; and if the Instruments he had already employ'd were not worthy to bring so Glorious a Design to a Conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the Trouble of the Nation to a Godly Period.

Vane and
Cromwell
proposed a
self denying
Ordinance.

When the Two Houses met together the next Day, Sir *Henry Vane* told them, 'if ever God had appear'd

‘ appear’d to them, it was in the Exercise of
‘ Yesterday; and that it appear’d it proceeded
‘ from God, because (as he was credibly inform’d
‘ by many who had been Auditors in other Con-
‘ gregations) the same Lamentations and Discourses
‘ had been made in all other Churches, as the
‘ Goodly Preachers had made before them; which
‘ could therefore proceed only from the immediate
‘ Spirit of God. He repeated some Things which
‘ had been said, upon which he was best prepared
‘ to enlarge, and besought them to remember their
‘ Country; and that they would free themselves
‘ from those Just Reproaches, which they could
‘ do no otherwise than by divesting themselves
‘ of all Offices and Charges that might bring
‘ in the least Advantage and Profit to themselves:
‘ By this only they could make it appear
‘ that they were Publick hearted Men, and as
‘ they pay’d all Taxes and Impositions with the
‘ rest of the nation, so they gave up all their Time
‘ to their Countries Service, without any Reward
‘ or Gratitude. He told them, that the Reflections
‘ of Yesterday, none of which had ever enter’d
‘ upon his Spirit before, had rais’d another Re-
‘ flection in him than had been mention’d; which
‘ was, that it had been often taken Notice of, and
‘ objected by the King himself, that the Num-
‘ bers of the Members of Parliament, who sat
‘ in either House, were too few to give Reputa-
‘ tion to Acts of so great Moment as were trans-
‘ acted in their Counsels: Which though it was
‘ no Fault of theirs who kept their proper Sta-
‘ tions, but of those who had deserted their Places
‘ and their Trusts, by being absent from the Par-
‘ liament; yet that in Truth there were too
‘ many absent, though in the Service of the House
‘ and by their appointment, and if all the Mem-
‘ bers were oblig’d to the Service of the Parliament
‘ in the Parliament, it would bring great Reputa-
‘ tion to their Numbers, and the People would pay
‘ more Reverence, and yield a fuller Obedience to
‘ their Commands: And then concluded, that
‘ he was ready to accuse himself for one of those
‘ who gain’d by an Office he had; and though he

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‘ was possessed of it before the beginning of the
 ‘ Troubles, and ow’d it not to the Favour of the
 ‘ Parliament, (for he had been joined with Sir
William Russel in the Treasurership of the Navy
 by the King’s Grant) ‘ yet he was ready to lay
 ‘ it down, to be disposed of by the Parliament;
 ‘ and wish’d that the Profits thereof might be ap-
 ‘ plied towards the Support of the War.

When the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*
 commended the Preachers ‘ for having dealt plain-
 ‘ ly and impartially, and told them of their Faults
 ‘ which they had been so unwilling to hear of:
 ‘ That there were many Things, upon which he
 ‘ never reflected before; yet upon revolving
 ‘ what had been said, he could not but confess
 ‘ that all was very True; and till there were
 ‘ a perfect Reformation in those Particulars which
 ‘ had been recommended to them, nothing would
 ‘ prosper that they took in Hand: That the Par-
 ‘ liament had done very wisely in the entrance in-
 ‘ to the War, to engage many Members of their
 ‘ own in the most Dangerous Parts of it, that the
 ‘ Nation might see that they did not intend to
 ‘ embark them in Perils of War, whilst them-
 ‘ selves sat securely at Home out of Gun-shot, but
 ‘ would march with them where the Danger most
 ‘ threaten’d; and those Honourable Persons, who
 ‘ had expos’d themselves this Way, had merited
 ‘ so much of their Country, that their Memories
 ‘ should be held in perpetual Veneration; and
 ‘ whatsoever should be well done after them,
 ‘ would be always imputed to their Example:
 ‘ But that God had so Blessed their Army, that
 ‘ there had grown up with it and under it,
 ‘ very many Excellent Officers, who were
 ‘ fitter for much greater Charges than they
 ‘ were now possessed of; and desired them ‘ not
 ‘ to be terrified with an Imagination, that if the
 ‘ highest Offices were vacant, they should not be
 ‘ able to put as fit Men in them; for besides that,
 ‘ it was not good to put so much Trust in any
 ‘ Arm of Flesh, as to think such a Cause as this
 ‘ depended upon any One Man, he did take upon
 ‘ him to assure them that they had Officers in their
 ‘ Army

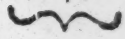
‘ Army who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in Christendom. He said ‘ he thought ‘ nothing so necessary as to purge and vindicate ‘ the Parliament from the Partiality towards their ‘ own Members ; and made a proffer to lay down his Commission of Command in the Army ; and desired, ‘ that an Ordinance might be prepared, ‘ by which it might be made unlawful for any ‘ Member of either House of Parliament to hold ‘ any Office or Command in the Army, or any ‘ Place or Employment in the State ; and so ‘ concluded with an enlargement upon ‘ the Vices, ‘ and Corruptions, which were gotten into the Army, ‘ the Prophanities, and Impiety ‘ and absence of ‘ all Religion ; the Drinking and Gaming, and ‘ all manner of Licence, and Laziness : And said ‘ plainly, that till the whole Army were new Model’d and Govern’d under a stricter Discipline, ‘ they must not expect any Notable Success in any ‘ Thing they went about,

This Debate ended in appointing a Committee, to prepare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all Members from the Trusts aforesaid ; which took up much Debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a Conclusion ; and in the end was call’d the *Self-denying Ordinance* : The driving on of which exceedingly encreased the Inclination of the other Party to Peace ; and many of the Royalists also out of an universal Weariness of the War, were fond of it. In conclusion, the King resolv’d that there should be a short Message drawn, in which ‘ the Continuance of the War, and the Mischiefs it ‘ brought upon the Kingdom, should be lamented ; ‘ and his Desire express’d, that some Reasonable Conditions of Peace might be thought upon ; assuring them that his Majesty would be willing to ‘ consent to any thing that could consist with his Conscience and Honour. He resolv’d that he would send this Message by the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, both of Unblemish’d Honour, and of General Reputation in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet was sent to the Earl of Essex for a Safeguard, or Pass, to the Two Lords, to the end they might deliver a Message from the King

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to the Two Houses concerning a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex* only answer'd, ' that he ' would acquaint the Houses with it, and return ' their Answer, and so dismissed the Trumpet. The King indeed seem'd to have now done his Part and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolv'd never to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent a Treaty, thought they had Advantage enough to object against this unusual Message: ' If the Message it self had been sent, they might ' have judg'd whether it had been like to be attend- ' ed with good Success, and so might have accep- ' ted a Treaty if they had approved of it; but ' this sending of Messengers before they knew what ' they would bring, was an Invention to begin a ' Treaty before they admitted it; and to send Ene- ' mies into their Quarters, with Authority to scat- ' ter their Poyson abroad: And therefore, with ' great Passion they press'd, ' that no such Pass ' should be sent. On the other Hand it was, with equal Passion, alledged, ' that the refusal of the Safe ' Conduct was a total Rejection of Peace, before they ' understood upon what Terms it would be offer'd; ' which the People would take very ill from them, ' and conclude that the War must continue for ever; ' they therefore wished that a Safe guard might be ' sent without delay, and that they would have a ' better Opinion of their Friends than to imagine ' that the Presence or Power of Two Men, how ' Considerable soever, would be able to Corrupt or ' Pervert their Affections from the Parlia- ' ment.

In this Opinion the *Scottish* Commissioners like- wise concurr'd; so that the other Party found it necessary to consent, and the Safe Conduct, after many other Debates, was sent accordingly. So that about the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their Pass, went from *Oxford* to *London*, where they were advis'd not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them Injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them except with great Privacy. Only the *Scottish* Commis- sioners,



tioners, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them.' The Houses could not presently agree upon the manner of their Reception; and how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being deliver'd to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scottish* Commissioners made a Third Estate, and the Message was directed to them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolv'd, 'that there should be a Conference between the Two Houses in the Painted Chamber; at which the *Scottish* Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table. The Two Lords used very few Words, in letting them know the King's great Inclinations to Peace, and deliver'd and read their Message to that Purpose; which was receiv'd by the Lords without any other Expressions than that they should report it to the Houses; and so the meeting broke up: And then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some Compliments and Ceremony to the Two Lords, according to the Acquaintance they had with them, and found Opportunities to see them in private, or to send confiding Persons to them. The Answer given to the Lords was, 'That, as long as they stay'd in Town, the Houses would never so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message, because they found it would be Matter of great Debate, and spend much time; during which they did not desire their Company, nor to be troubl'd with their Insults. And therefore, soon after they had receiv'd the King's Message, they proceeded upon the Trial of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* before Both Houses of Parliament, upon an Impeachment of High Treason; hereupon the Two Lords, being advised by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the Determination to be sent to *Oxford*, return'd to the King with Confidence that a Treaty would be consented to; and that it would be at some Third Place, and not at *Oxford*, and less at *London*, by Commissioners which should be agreed on by both Sides. But they brought an Express Desire, and even a Condition to the King,

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from all those with whom they had conferr'd, and who were the Chief Persons who advanced the Treaty, 'that if that which they labour'd for, 'should be yielded to by the Parliament, his Majesty would not Name a Person (whom they mention'd to the King) 'for one of his Commissioners; for that he was so Odious, that they 'would absolutely decline the Treaty before 'they would admit him to be one of the Treasurers.

The Archbishop had lain Prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about Four Years, without any Prosecution till this time. But now they brought him to the Bars of Both Houses, charging him with several Articles of High Treason. They accused him of a Design to bring in Popery, and of having Correspondence with the Pope, and such like Particulars. He defended himself with great Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution; but when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, they by Ordinance of Parliament, appointed him to be put to Death as Guilty of High Treason. The first time that Two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Jurisdiction. Mr H—— says, when the first Mention was made of bringing the Archbishop to a Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken to the King of it, and propos'd to him, 'that in all Events there might be a Pardon prepared, and sent to him, under the Great Seal of England, to the end if they proceeded against him in any Form of Law he might plead the King's Pardon; which must be allow'd by all who pretended to be govern'd by the Law; but if they proceeded in a Martial, or any other Extraordinary Way, without any Form of Law, his Majesty should declare his Justice and Affection to an Old Faithful Servant, whom he much esteem'd, in having done all toward his Preservation that was in his Power to do. The King was wonderfully pleas'd with the Proposition; and took from thence Occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Archbishop with extraordinary Affection; and com-

Commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to 1644.
 cause the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majesty
 would Sign and Seal it with all possible Secrecy;
 which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the
 Chancellor sent for Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, the King's
 Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure: Upon
 which he presently drew the Pardon, which was
 Sign'd and Seal'd with the Great Seal of *England*,
 and carefully sent, and deliver'd into the Arch-
 bishop's own Hand, before he was brought to his
 Trial; who receiv'd it with great Joy, as it was a
 Testimony of the King's Gracious Affection to, and
 Care of him. When his Council had perused it
 and consider'd that all possible Exceptions would
 be taken to it, though they should not reject it,
 they found, that the Impeachment was not so dis-
 tinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be;
 which could not be helped at *Oxford*, because they
 had no Copy of it; and therefore had supplied it
 with all those general Expressions, as in any Court
 of Law would make the Pardon valid against any Ex-
 ceptions the King's own Council could make against
 it. Hereupon the Archbishop had, by the same
 Messenger, return'd the Pardon again to the Chan-
 cellor, with such Directions and Copies as were ne-
 cessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly,
 and deliver'd safely again to him, and was in his
 Hands during the whole time of his Trial. So
 when his Trial was over, and the Ordinance passed
 for his Execution, and he call'd and ask'd, accord-
 ing to Custom in Criminal Proceedings, 'what he
 could say more why he should not suffer Death?
 He told them, 'that he had the King's Gracious
 Pardon, which he pleaded, and tender'd to them,
 and desired that it might be allow'd. Where-
 upon he was sent to the *Tower*, and the Pardon
 read in Both Houses; where without any long De-
 bate it was declared to be of no Effect, and that
 the King could not Pardon a Judgment of Par-
 liament. And so, without troubling them-
 selves farther, they gave Order for his Behead-
 ing.

The Arch-
 bishop Be-
 headed.

The new War in the North between the
Swedes and the *Danes* we have mentioned last Year,
 where-
 Occurrences
 of the Year
 in the North

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Swedish
War.

wherein the *Swedes* succeeded the more easily in the beginning, because the *Danes* had made no preparation to resist them: For in *Holsatia* they took without great difficulty *Rendsburg*, *Itschœ*, *Penneberg* and *Christianburg*: After which they took up Quarters in *Holsatia*, and the Isle of *Jutland*: By which Means the *Swedish* Army was considerably reinforced. It is true the *Danes* Built a Fort in the Land of *Jutland* upon the *Belt*, and gathered some Troops together. But *Douglas* defeated 1500 of their Horse near *Coldinghan*, so that scarce 100 of them escaped. Moreover, their Infantry, which was about 4500 Strong, being attacked in their Camp by *Torjtan*, were forced to Surrender; and the *Germans* that were amongst them, to the Number of 1000. went into the *Swedish* Service, the rest being sent Home with Bitter Railery and Scorn. Besides, the Frost that came on gave an opportunity to the *Swedes*, not only to pass into *Marchlanden*, but likewise into the Country of *Wentsussal*, where they cut in Peices 700 Boors that had taken up Arms. So that in the Space of Two Months the *Dane* had lost all on that Side, except the Towns of *Gluckstad* and *Knempe*. On the other Hand *Gustavus Horn*, with an Army of 14000 Men, leaving *Sweden* in the beginning of the Year, made an Irruption into *Schonen*, and having left a Garrison in *Helimburg*, which the *Danes* had slighted, he put some Boors, who had put themselves in a Posture of Defence, to the Sword. In the mean time there arrived from *Holland* a Fleet of Thirty Ships of a middle Rate, which *Lewis de Gear* had obtain'd from some Private Merchants: The States refusing to send them any (tho' they were oblig'd thereunto by the Treaty made betwixt them) upon pretence that this War had been begun without their Consent. But the truth is, they desir'd to Fish in muddy Water, and to keep an equal Ballance between both Parties, under the appearance of a Mediation: 'Tis true, that this Fleet oblig'd the *Danes* to abandon the Haven of *Gothenburg*, which they Besieg'd: But yet the *Danish* Fleet hinder'd it to transport the *Swedish* Troops into the Isle of *Fuhnen*; so that, for that time, after a short Engagement, it was forc'd

to put into *Ulja*. But the *Swedish* Fleet, Com-
manded by Admiral *Fleming*, arrived on the Coasts
of *Holsatia* in the Month of *June*, and Ravag'd the
Island of *Femerin*, where they put all to the Sword,
who offer'd to make the least Resistance. After-
wards they fought against the *Danish* Fleet, where
the King himself Commanded in Person; and in all
appearance the *Swedes* would have got the Advan-
tage, if all their Captains had done their Duty as be-
came them. In this Battle the King of *Denmark*
was Wounded in the Eye with a Splinter. After
this Battle the *Swedish* Fleet retir'd to *Christiaanprys*
to be re-fitted. The *Danish* Fleet went before that
Town, whence the *Swedes* could not chase them be-
cause of contrary Winds; insomuch that the *Dane*s
having Landed some Troops, possess'd them-
selves of a Hill over-against *Christiaanprys* whence
they shot into the *Swedish* Fleet. The *Swedish* Ad-
miral, while he was washing his Hands, was Wound-
ed by a Cannon Ball in the left Knee, of which he
died in a few days after. To revenge his Death
General *Torsten*son cut in Pieces all the *Danes* who
had Landed, being about Thirteen Hundred Men.
After the Death of the Admiral, *Vrangel* took the
Command of the Fleet, who was also obliged to
continue a whole Month in the Harbour, but not
without Danger, until a favourable Wind presen-
ted to carry them out, otherways the *Danes* had
hindred them from Sailing to *Stockholm*.

While these things were transacting, the Gar-
rison of *Gluckstad* and *Krenpe* beat some *Swedish*
Troops, and Surpriz'd *Itzchoe*. And on the other
Side, the *Danes* coming with their Fleet near
Coldinsen, Landed some Men, who Defeated Four
Companies of *Infantry*. But, in a short time after
the *Swedes* reveng'd it with a witness: For tho'
General *Torsten*son had gone from *Holsace* with the
main Body of the Army, yet he left still some
Troops there, under the Command of *Helm Vrangel*,
who gall'd the Enemies in diverse Rencounters. In
Schonen *Gustavus Horn* carried the Castle of *Landskroon*
after which, he enter'd into *Blekingia*, and the Pro-
vince of *Holland*; he so Beat the *Danes* in several
Places that they durst appear no more. Besides,
he

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The *Swedish* Fleet being return'd homeward, the *Danes* fancied that they would not set to Sea that Year any more; and for that Reason his *Danish* Majesty sent the greatest Part of his Forces into *Schonen*, to Chase *Gustavus Horn* from his Post. But the *Danes* being in no Condition to do any thing, were fain to retire with some Loss, and pass into the Island of *Zeeland*. The *Swedes* were also busied upon the Frontiers of *Norway*; but all they did was of small Consequence to the Main Affair. They were Fortunate at Sea that Year; for *Vrangel* had put to Sea very late against any Attempt of the *Danes*, and join'd the Fleet of *Louis de Geer*, that came from *Holland*, and pass'd through the Straits of the *Sound*, and the *Breams* of *Danemark*, near to *Salholm*. So continuing their Course near to *Colberge Heide*, about the *Femern*, they met Sixteen *Danish* Men of War, all which he ruin'd entirely, except Two, which made their escape; for he took Ten of them, forc'd Three upon the Banks, and burnt One. In this Action the *Swedes* lost only One Ship, which they had hir'd in *Holland*, and was sunk. But when they arriv'd to *Kielcrhaven*, in order to be refitted, the Water was so low that the most Part of them stranded, insomuch that for Fifteen Days time they were not afloat; and by these Means lost the Opportunity of seizing some of the *Danish* Islands, as they had propos'd to themselves. Afterwards the Winter coming on, and Provisions failing, the Crew became Sick. This oblig'd the Fleet to retire into the Harbour of *VVismar*, in order to Winter there. But the *Hollanders* return'd home.

However, the Wars of *Denmark* had oblig'd General *Torsten*son to leave the most Part of his Troops in *Holsace*, and the Country of *Jutland*, yet he had his Eyes upon the Affairs of *Germany*; for after he had provided the Principal Places with all Necessaries, he sent *Douglass* into *Pomeran*, and *Gustavus Otten* into *VWestphalia*, to observe these Countries: But order'd *Koningmark* to have particular regard to the

the *Higher* and *Lower-Saxony*. And as soon as this latter had discover'd that the Archbishop of *Bremen* concern'd himself in the Wars of the King of *Denmark*, his Father-in-Law, he divested him of the Town of *Verden*; and when he heard that the *Imperialists* were making some motion in *Misnia*, he went thither with all diligence to frustrate the Design they had form'd of Besieging the Town of *Leipsick*. On the other hand, the *Imperialists* intended to take the Advantage of this Opportunity, and march first to shut up the *Swedes* in the Country of *Jutland*, with the the main of their Army, Commanded by *Gallas*, and next, by joining *Hatsfeld*, with the Troops of the Archbishop of *Bremen*, to ruin the Troops of *Koningsmark* and *Hesse*; and, in fine, to divert the *French* by Means of the *Bavarains*. After which they fancied that all the Places where any *Swedish* Garrisons were would soon be forc'd to surrender, in regard that the *Imperialists* would be every where Masters of the Field. However, a great Part of these Fine Projects vanish'd into Air. It's true, the General enter'd into *Holface*, at the Head of a numerous Army, with a design to possess himself of the Passage betwixt *Stapelhom* and *Sleswck*, in order to hinder the *Swedish* Regiments to come from *Jutland*: But *Torsten*'s Vigilance defeated his Enterprize. *Gallas* left *Oldnsto*, where some *Danish* Troops join'd him, and went to *Kiel*. On the other side, *Torsten* not thinking it convenient to see himself shut up, nor famish'd, march'd with his Army from *Rendeburg* directly against *Gallas*, in order to give him Battle. But having observ'd that the *Imperialists* had no mind to run any Risque, he pass'd out of *Holface* in their presence, and incamp'd near *Ratzenburg*, in order to cut them off from their Provisions. *Gallas* follow'd him, without having done any thing with his Army, but ravage the Country. The *Swedes* gall'd his Rear very much when he went to *Lawenburg*, in order to pass the *Elbe*. But the *Danes* took their Way towards *Bardenwick*, highly dissatisfied at their Expedition.

Tho' *Torsten*, rather than to fall upon the *Danes*, when they were separated from the *Imperial Army*,

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Army, judg'd it more expedient to pursue *Gallas* before he could receive any Re-inforcement, and return to Attack him. By that Means he gave some Satisfaction to the *French*, who were extreamly out of Humour that the *Suedes* should have left the whole Burden of the War of *Germany* upon them, while they made an Expedition into *Denmark* *Torsten*son having passed the *Elbe* near *Rouzeburg*, followed General *Gallas* with all speed, who posted himself upon a Hill near *Brenburg*. *Torsten*son encamp'd pretty near him, and took that Castle, whence, with his Cannon, he forc'd the *Imperialists* twice to change their Camp. But *Gallas* having no mind to venture a Battle, the Two Armies continued in sight of one another till the latter end of *September*. *Torsten*son unwilling to allow the *Imperialists* to escape, whom he had in a manner Belieg'd, Fortified and Garrison'd as many Places round as he could, to hinder all Necessaries from coming to the Enemies Camp, who, by these Means, were reduc'd to great Extremity, insomuch that both Men and Horses were Starved to Death. But their Misery was still the greater, after that their Foragers and Convoy were defeated near *Aicherstaben*. And tho' *Gallas* his Army had been reinforc'd with the *Saxon* Cavalry, yet *Torsten*son shut them up so close that there was no Way by which they could save themselves, except they intended to take the Road of *Magdeburg*, which they thought convenient to do as soon as they had heard that *Torsten*son had gone in Person with a great Part of his Cavalry to surprize the Foragers, who march'd towards *Eisleben*. And tho' *Torsten*son return'd presently after, he was inform'd that the Enemy wrs decamped; but *Gallas* march'd so speedily, that he sav'd himself at *Magdeburg*, having left his Baggage and a great many Wounded Men his Camp; and when the *Imperial* Foragers and Convoy return'd the next Day, they fell into the Hands of the *Suedes*. The *Imperial* Cavalry having no Forrage at *Magdeburg*, attempted to pass into *Silesia*: *Torsten*son followed them with all Diligence, and came up with them near *Niemeck* and *Juterbeck*, cut a great Part of them in Pieces, made a great many Prisoners, and dispers'd

pers'd the rest intirely. But General *Gallas* continued still at *Magdeburg* with the Infantry, and *Torsten* left *Koninsmark* to observe him, he himself going into Winter Quarters in *Misnia*, where having stay'd till the end of the Year, he encreased his Army considerably : But in a short time the Flakes of Ice having broke down the Bridge of Boats the *Swedes* had cast over the *Elbe*, *Gallas* had, by this Means, an Opportunity to save himself with a few Infantry from *Magdeburg*, it being then impossible for the *Swedes* to pass the River. However, they still overtook a Thousand Firelocks upon the Road ; these would not march so hard as the rest : And thus of so Numerous an Army as *Gallas* brought into the Field, he carried only a Thousand Foot along with him into *Bohemia*.

On the other Hand, while the *Swedes* were thus engaged, the *Imperialists* took, the last Year, in *Silesia*, *Drakenburg*, *Schaweinits*, *Opelen* and *Wolau* ; they block'd up, but in vain, the *Great Glogau* and *Olmütz*. The *Swedes* deliver'd up freely *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and *Crosien*, to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to the end they might manage their Troops the better.

This Year some Broils arose between the Emperor and Prince *Ragotzi*, wherein the *Turks* also somewhat concerned themselves : But all this while *Sul-*
ran Ibrahim having the Fortune of Active and Prudent Ministers, wholly minded his Pastimes and Pleasures, without Prejudice to the State : For the Prime *Vizier* cut off all those Members with the Sword whom he suspected in the least Inclined to Sedition, particularly the *Basha's* of *Aleppo* and *Cassa*, and the *Sultana* valide, a Woman of great Courage and Abilities, cut off the Prime *Vizier* *Mustapha*, and advanced *Mahomet*, *Basha* of *Damascus* into his Place. The *Cappudan Basha* run the same State, for some overbold Answers to the Impertinences of the *Grand Seignior*, and *Beker*, *Basha* of *Rhodes* was advanced to his Command : The *Sultan* moreover Deposed the *Tartan Han* for his unlawful Incursions, to the great Satisfaction of *Poland*, and on the 10th of *March* had a Fourth Son Born, as he had a 5th in *February* the following Year. And be-

Turkish
Affairs.

cause

cause their Captain *Basha* would be thought to do something in his new Office, he made an Attempt with his Gallies upon the Coasts of *Calabria*, from whence he carried off 200 Slaves, but attempting the like near *Coron*, he paid for the former Booty with the Loss of 500 Men: However, Six of the *Maltese* Gallies had better Success (tho' the Consequence proved Fatal to the *Venetians*) having taken several Rich *Turkish* Vessels bound to *Alexandria* with vast Booty, and among others the Wealth of the *Kuzlir Aga*, who was Slain here, as he was designing to go by Way of Devotion for *Mecca*: But because we have here mentioned this *Aga*, it will not be improper to give the Reason of his Remove from Court, which was briefly thus. This *Eunuch* hapning to cast his Eye upon a Fair Slave, set to Sale by a *Persian* Merchant, he was so Enamoured that he Bought her, under the Notion of a Virgin, for 450 Dollars; but she soon after appearing to be with Child, he was so offended at it that he confined her to his Steward's House, where she was brought to to Bed of a Son and the *Aga* not long after being desirous to see the Babe, he was so pleased with his Aspect, that he adopted him for his own: It hapning about that time that *Mahomet Ibrahim's* Eldest Son and Successor was Born, this Beautiful Slave was perferred to be his Nurse, and was entertained for Two Years in the *Seraglio*, during which time *Ibrahim* took such an Affection to the Nurses Boy, that he seemed to love him better than his own; which so displeased *Mahomet's* Mother, that she could neither endure the Nurse nor her Son, and for her sake was mightily dissatisfied with the *Kuzlir Aga*, who preferred her: Nay, her Passion was so violent, that when *Ibrahim* was playing with his Women and Children in the Garden, she could not forbear venting her Anger in unhandsome Terms against the Nurse and her Boy wherewith the Sultan was so dissatisfied, that he threw her Son *Mahomet*, then in his Arms, into Cistern, where he had been infallibly drowned, if some of them had not presently taken him up, at which time he received the Mark or Scar he wore to his dying Day; tho' *Thevenot* says, as he had

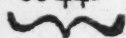
had it at *Constantinople*, it came another Way: For *Sultan Ibraim* being very Merry on a time, jumping and dancing among his Women, and *Mahomet* a Child, his Father called to him, why do not you Dance? And the Boy smartly replying, what do you think I am a Fool to Dance? The other presently rejoined, then I am a Fool, and with that striking him on the Face with his Dagger, wounded, and would have killed him, had not others interposed to save him from his Fury. The *Kuzlir Aga* therefore judging it Prudence to withdraw from the Fury of the *Sultana*, got leave to retire from the Court, and was going for *Mecca* as you have heard, when Death overtook him by the Way: And tho' this adopted Son, who then was made a Prisoner, was accounted and treated at *Malta* as a Son of the *Grand Seignior*, yet time discovering the fallity of it, he became a Friar, and was the same Person who went under the Name of *Padre Ottomano*. *Ibrahim* stormed mightily for the Loss of his Ships, and nothing would serve him but the utter Ruin of *Malta*; besides, he shewed a most Inveterate Passion against the *Venetians*, for not guarding the Seas from his Enemies, and delivering them in their Ports, in which Rage he put his own *Capudan Bassa* to Death, and sent for the Christian Ambassadors, Braving them all for the little Respect they shewed to his Shipping: And in short, was angry with all, but reserved the Effect of his Wrath to be poured upon the *Venetians*, making his Complaint first to the *Bailo Soranzo*; who answered, that he was ill informed of the true State of those things, since the Port to which the *Maltese* came had neither Castle nor Fortrefs belonging to it; and if the *Grand Seignior* was not able to hinder those Ships from Careening, as they had often done, before *Rhodes*, how was it possible for the *Venetians* to drive them out of the Sea, and deny them the use of Salt Water. With this Answer he seemed to be satisfied, and Matters appeared so appeased on the Part of the *Venetians*, that the *Bailo*, tho' a Person of a penetrating Judgment, imagined nothing of War: By this Means *Ibrahim* covered his Designs against *Candia*, to which Enterprize he was much instigated by a Tutor of his, who accom-

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accompanied him in the time of his Solitude ; the Consequence whereof were great Preparations for War, the Report whereof flying all over *Europe*, was entertained at *Malta* with some Apprehensions of Danger, as being the supposed Place on which all the Storm was to discharge its Fury ; and therefore they made all necessary Preparations for their Defence. In the mean time the *Venetians* suspecting the worst, made also due Preparations for their own Defence, but with all the Secrecy they could ; yet gave Orders to their *Bailo*, with all Arts and Prudence, gently to feel the *Turks* Pulse, to see if Money would purchase the present Tranquility of their State : But their Comportment towards the *Bailo*, plainly discovered their Resentment : For having one Day demanded Audience, he attended several Hours without Admission ; and when *Ragotzi's* Ambassador came to the Vizier, he no sooner entred the House but he was received, and the *Bailo* was told at the same time he might retire, for there was no room for his Audience. But all this while the Preparations for War went on very vigorously in all the *Ottoman* Ports, the *Grand Seignior* at the same time pursuing his Pleasures with all intenseness imaginable ; and so gay was his Female *Seraglio*, that they could not get Silks, and Cloth of Gold, and other Braveries enough to adorn it : But many times when any Ships with such Commodities came within the Castles, of the *Helespoint*, and that the Wind did not immediately permit them to come up, they sent Gallies to fetch the Goods, which were forced away many times without any Account or Price made with the Merchant ; of which Sir *Thomas Bendish*, then the *English* Ambassador at the Port, complaining to the *Prime Vizier* without any Redress, he resolved upon an Expedient in making the same known to the *Grand Seignior*, which was this. In *Turky* they have a Custom when any Man receives a Notable Injury from the Chief Ministers, that they put Fire on the Heads, and Running to their *Grand Seignior*, no Man can hinder them Access ; wherefore the Ambassador drew out all the *English* Ships in *Galata*, to the number of Thirteen, and drawing in their Guns, and shutting the Ports, put Fire to every Yard-Arm, and

and then brought them to an Anchor just before the *Seraglio*, which unusual sight being spied by the Custom-House Officer, he presently apprehended the Reason and went to acquaint the Vizier with it, who thereupon dispatched the Customier with a considerable Sum of Money on Board, and desiring the Fires to be put out promised faithfully to pay the remainder, hereupon the Ships returned to their Stations, not seeming to have been taken Notice of by those of the *Seraglio*. But to return to the War. *Ibrahim* no sooner understood that the *Venetians*, growing jealous of his Preparations, begun to Arm likewise, but he complained of that defensive Posture, alledging, that Suspicions of this Nature argued no hearty Dispositions towards their Neighbours; nor was any thing more contrary to a good Correspondence, or more disobliging than such like Jealousies, which oftentimes begets that Enmity that was never designed: It was also thought necessary, if possible, to dissuade the *Bailo* from a belief of any Hostility designed against the Republick; and none was thought a more Proper Instrument for this than the Old Cheat *Hogia*, before mentioned. The Fleet and Land Forces being by this time all ready, and the Gallies and Ships come to the *Seraglio* Point, *Ibrahim* entered his Grand *Chiosk* on the Sea Shore where the *Seličiar* War. *Aga*, General, and all the Commanders, came to pay him their Obeisance before their departure, and to whom he declared his Intentions were to make War upon the Infidels, as their Commissions would show; that he expected the highest Demonstrations of Courage in them, that Rewards and Punishments were in his Hands which he resolved to dispence according to Merit; that they should have due Assistance and Succour, he having taken all due Measures for that, even for a War of Seven Years; at which all of them giving a Shout, and declaring their readiness to spend their Blood and Lives in the Execution of his Commands, every one of them thereupon received a Velt, and the General a Scimeter beset with Diamonds; and being a Young Man about 27 Years old, had Six Grave *Balkas* assigned him for his Council: Then the Commission for

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War was brought forth sealed, with Orders not to open it till they passed the *Dardanells*.

Great pre-
parations
both in
Spain and
Portugal.

If we should from hence make our Passage by Sea to *Marseilles*, in *France*, we meet nothing very Material there at present for History; only that the *Spaniards* in *July* retook *Lerida* in *Catalonia* from the *French*, and forced *Lamoth Houdancourt* to raise his Siege before *Tarragone*, which occasioned that General to be recalled, and the Count of *Harcourt* to be sent to command in his Stead: And as for what was transacted on the Side of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Orleans* besieged *Graveling*, and the *Dutch* having block't it up by Sea, it was surrendred after Two Months Siege. But let us see a little into the State of Affairs between *Spain* and *Portugal* still at War; and where in pursuance to the League concluded between the Kings of *France* and *Portugal*, the former excited the latter to Invade the Territories of *Spain* with all his Power by Sea and Land, that so he might be put into a Condition to make a greater Progress in *Catalonia*. Hereupon King *John* gave Orders for gathering an Army of 12000 Foot and 2000 Horse, which was to enter *Castile* by the Way of *Alentejo*. The Catholick King having Advice hereof, the better to secure his Dominions on that Side, whilst he attended the Affairs of *Catalonia*, gave the Command of his Army in *Estremadura*, to the Marquis de *Torrecusa*. *Mathias de Albuquerque* having served the King of *Portugal* well, was by him continued General of the Frontiers. The first Attempt made by the Marquess proved unfortunate, for he could not make himself Master of *Ougela*, a little Town in *Portugal*, which after the Gate had been forced with a Petard, was bravely defended by the Inhabitants for the space of Six Hours. Among the other Defendants a Woman did Wonders with a Baker's Peel; and though wounded, could never be perswaded to retire till the Assault was given over. The *Portugueze* after this were not slack to return the *Spaniards* their Visit at *Mentejo*; which Place, though well fortified and defended by Four Companies, they assaulted and took by Scalade, where falling disorderly to Plunder, the *Spaniards* took the Opportunity to rally,

The Portu-
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ra.

rally, and fell upon them so resolutely, that they had all Perished, but that the *Monteiro Mor* came in opportunely with his Horse, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire to the River *Guadiana*, where many of them were drowned. Hence the *Portuguese* advanced, and rased *Membrillo*, an open Town, save a Trench that had been thrown up about it. The same they did to *Villa Nueva de Barcarota*, but attempted not the Castle, in which was *Don Francis de Velasco* Lieutenant General of the Horse of *Castile*, who having but 500 Horse with him, was not able to appear in the Field against the *Portuguese*. They being now 6000 Foot and 1100 Horse, with Six Pieces of Cannon, took and destroyed *Villar del Rey*, *Roca de Almanacite* and *Publa*, all Towns of *Estremadura*. These Actions of the *Portuguese* struck to the Heart of the *Marquess de Torrecusa*, as perceiving a sort of Faintness in his Soldiers, which looked like Infatuation, being wholly opposite to the Natural Bravery of the *Spaniards*. He called a Council of War, in which he proposed to take the Field, and give the Enemy Battle. Many applauded his Propositions, yet others advised to besiege *Olivenza*, as the strongest of the Enemies Garrisons, which would draw their Forces out of *Spain* and perhaps necessitate them to give Battle upon Terms of Disadvantage. This Opinion wanted not some to support it; but the *Marquiss* and others persisting in the Resolution of hazarding a Battle, their Authority prevailed. The *Spanish* Army consisted of 7000 Foot, and 2600 Horse in 34 Troops, under the Command of the *Baron de Molineux*, who was now to Command the whole Army, because the *Marquiss* was to stay at *Badajoz*. These Forces met the Enemy sooner than they expected.

On the 26th of May, *Albuquerque*, the *Portuguese* General, finding himself reduc'd to that necessity that he must either fight or fly, chose rather to hazard a Battle than forfeit his Reputation. He performed the Office of a Major General, ordering his Battle himself. The Command of the Right Wing he gave to the *Monteiro Mor*, and the Left to the *Commissary General*, who had

The Spanish Forces defeated.

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under him the *Dutch* Horse, commanded by Captain *Piper*. The Two Armies ingaged, and the *Spaniards* gave such a furious Charge on the *Portuguese* Left Wing, where the Commissiary commanded, that the *Dutch* Horse fled, and running upon their own Foot, so disorder'd that Part of the Army, that the *Spaniards* drove them from their Ground; their General being in Danger to be bruised to Death, his Horse falling upon him, a *French* Captain saved him, giving him another Horse that ran loose, and sustaining the Shot of the Enemy till he mounted. Being delivered from that Danger, he had recourse to that Body of Reserve, which advancing to the Place which the *Spanish* Horse had left to pursue the *Dutch*, and others that fled, made such Havock among the Foot, before Victorious, that they were forced to fly. The Horse returning from the pursuit and seeing the Foot broke, could never be brought to a Charge, but betook themselves to their Heels, quitting their Cannon and Baggage. Of the *Spaniards* about 2000 Foot and Horse were killed and taken with about 40 Colours and Standards. Of the *Portuguese* 750 were slain, and among them Two Colonels. The *Portuguese* continued a Day in the Field lest the *Spaniards* should return and vaunt they had kept it. King *John* rejoicing at this Victory, which secured his Crown, created the General Earl of *Alegrette*, giving him a Pension of 4000 Crowns, and rewarded many other of the Principal Men in the Army. The Marquis of *Torrecusa* laboured to gather all the Forces of *Estremadura*; being grieved he was not present at the Battle, as believing it lost for want of Conduct; and it troubled him the more, because he was the Adviser of it.

A Sham
Conspiracy.

Whilst these things happened in *Estremadura*, several Incursions were made on all the Frontiers of the Kingdom, but in them was nothing Memorable, for the *Portuguese* were most upon the Defensive, and the *Spaniards* only kept the War afoot till the Affairs of *Catalonia* might be settled, that then they might turn their whole Force to this Side. About the same Time *D. George de Mascarenhas*, Count de *Monte Albano* who was of the Council of State, and had other

other great Employments, was Impeached of Con-
spiring, with others, against the King, for which he
was committed to the Castle of *Belen*, and the rest
to other Prisons. Upon Examination the Accusa-
tion was found malicious and groundless, where-
upon he, and all the others, on the Second of *No-*
vember, were honourably discharged, and restored to
their Estates and Honours. At this Time also died
the Archbishop of *Braga*, one of the Managers of
the first Conspiracy against the King. Dying, he
made it his Request to the King, that he would
Pardon his Treachery, and grant that his Body
might be Buried without some Parish Church,
without any Inscription upon it, to the end
no Memory might survive of One that hath been
Traitor to his King.

4. The *Portugueze* Governours on the Coasts of
America at length concluded a Truce with the Count
de Nassau, who governed at *Pernambuco* for the
Hollanders. Yet so far were they from observing
the Articles of it, that they rais'd a new Fort at
Segeripe, took several of their Ships, and committed
many Barbarities, as the *Portugueze* alledge against
them, that, according to Composition, remained
under them at *Pernambuco*. These things moved
John Fernandez Veigra, and *Francis Berenguer*, to lay
the Design this Year of expelling them that Pro-
vince. In *Africk*, *Tangier* had till this Time held for
the *Spaniards*, but now the Garrison secured their
Governour, sent him Prisoner to *Lisbon*, and declared
for King *John*. The *Moors* thought to have sur-
prized that City, and gave a desperate Assault, but
were repulsed with great Loss. Having thus run
round the Circle of another Year, we have this
only farther to remark, that it proved Fatal to Car-
dinal *Guy Bentivoglio*, a Person much Celebrated
by many Authors; he was Born at *Ferrara* in 1579,
and in his Youth made an extraordinary Progress
in the University of *Padua*: He was the Pope's Nun-
cio in *Flanders*, and afterwards in *France*, and
acquitted himself so well in these Employments that
Paul I. promoted him to a Cardinalate in 1621. He
was, to do him Justice, a Person who understood
Business very well, of great Learning, Prudence

The Affairs
of Ameri-
ca.

Car. Benti-
voglio's
Death.

1644.

Treaty of
Uxbridge.

and Integrity and generally Beloved: The most Considerable of his Works are the History of the Civil Wars of *Flanders*; A Relation of *Flanders*; Letters and Memories, *Gualdo piovato* &c.

The last Year concluded but more especially this begun, with a favourable Aspect upon Poor *England*, by a Treaty set on Foot between the King and Parliament, to which the Parliament nominated Sixteen Commissioners for the Two Houses, and Four for *Scotland*, and *Uxbridge* was to be the Place of Treaty, which was to be finished in Twenty Days: The Commissioners were the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Denbigh*, for the House of Peers; and for the Commons the Lord *Wenman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, *Hollis*, *St. John*, *Vane* the Younger, *Whitlock*, *Crew* and *Prideaux*, and for *Scotland*, the Lord *Lowden*, Chancellor, the Lord *Maitland*, Sir *Charles Erskin* and Mr. *Barclay*, together with Mr. *Alexander Henderson* in Matters only which related to the Church, to Treat upon the Particulars they had entrusted them with such Persons, as his Majesty should please to Nominate; for all whom a safe conduct should be sent as soon as his Majesty had named them; as they desired his Majesty's Safe Conduct for the Persons named by them: To none of which the King took any Exception but sign'd their Pass; and sent Word to the Houses, that he accepted the Treaty and the Place, and that he had nominated, as Commissioners for him, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Chichester*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*, the Lord *Hopton* Comptroller of the King's Household, the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edward Nicholas*, principal Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Lane*, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer, Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, his Majesty's Solicitor General, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards, Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Geofrey Palmer*, and desired that a Safe Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for the others; and they should then be

The King
accepts it.

‘ be ready, at the Day that was set down, at Ux-
‘ bridge.

When this was return’d to *Westminster*, there arose new Disputes against the Additions and Appellations of Title which were made to the Names of some of the Commissioners, and after long Debate they were contented to insert their Names in their Safe Conduct without their Honours or Offices ; and because there was private Notice given at the same Time ‘ that they would not, when they met ‘ at the Treaty, consider any Authority that qualified the King’s Commissioners to Treat, but ‘ only what should be under the King’s Sign-Manual. At last the King’s Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired. About the beginning of *February* the Commissioners on both Sides met at *Uxbridge* ; which being within the Enemies Quarters, the King’s Commissioners were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them who had been very Civil in the Distribution, and left one entire Side of the Town to the King’s Commissioners, One House only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*. As soon as the King’s Commissioners arrived, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them ; and within an Hour those of the King’s returned their Visits with usual Civilities, each professing great Desire and Hope that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first Visits were altogether, and in one Room ; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*.

When the Commissioners, on both Sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King’s Commissioners which Side of the Table they would take, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always deliver’d any Thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers, (after the Powers of both Sides were examined and perused) proposed some Rules to be observed in the Treaty, ‘ as of having nothing

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‘ binding, unless all were agreed upon ; and such
 ‘ like ; to which there was no Objection ; and
 offer’d, as a Direction they had receiv’d from the
 Parliament, ‘ that they should first enter upon the
 ‘ Matter of Religion, and Treat Three entire Days
 ‘ upon that Subject, without entering upon any
 ‘ other ; and if all Differences in that particular
 ‘ were not adjust’d within those Days, they should
 ‘ proceed to the next Point, which was the Militia,
 ‘ and observe the same Method in that, and from
 ‘ thence pass to the Business of *Ireland* ; which
 ‘ Three Points being well settled, they believ’d
 ‘ the other Differences would be with more Ease
 ‘ compos’d : And after those Nine Days were
 ‘ pass’d, they were to go round again upon the
 ‘ several Subjects, as long as the Time limited would
 ‘ continue : His Majesty being left at Liberty to
 ‘ propose what he thought fit, at his own Time,
 ‘ and to Change the Method propos’d. It was
 ‘ declared, ‘ that the Twenty Days, limited for
 ‘ the Treaty, were to be reckon’d of those
 ‘ Days which should be spent in the Treaty,
 ‘ and not the Days of coming or returning, or
 ‘ the Days spent in Devotion ; there falling out
 ‘ Three *Sundays* and a Fast Day in those Twen-
 ‘ ty Days. The Method was willingly consented
 to ; the King’s Commissioners conceiving it would
 be to no Purpose to propose any Thing on the King’s
 behalf, till they discern’d what Agreement was like
 to be made in any one Particular, by which they
 might take their Measures, and might propose any
 Thing of Moment under One of the Three Heads
 mention’d before.

There happen’d a very odd Accident the very
 first Morning they met at the House to agree up-
 on their Method to be observ’d in the Treaty.
 It was a Market-Day, when they us’d always to
 have a Sermon, and many of the Persons who came
 from *Oxford* in the Commissioners Train, went to
 the Church to observe the Forms. There was one
Love, a Young Man, that came from *London* with the
 Commissioners, who Preach’d, and told his Au-
 ditory, which consisted of the People of the Town,
 and of those who came to the Market, the Church
 being

‘ being very full, that they were not to expect any
 ‘ Good from the Treaty, for that they came from
 ‘ Oxford with Hearts full of Blood; and that there was
 ‘ as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as be-
 ‘ tween Heaven and Hell; and that they intended only
 ‘ to amuse the People with Expectation of Peace,
 ‘ till they were able to do some Notable Mischief
 ‘ to them; and inveighed so much against all
 ‘ Cavaliers and the Persons of the Commissioners, that
 he could be understood to intend nothing else
 but to stir up the People to Mutiny; and in it
 to do some Act of Violence upon the Commis-
 sioners. They were no sooner advertised of it by se-
 veral Persons who had been present in the Church,
 and who gave very particular Information of
 the very Words which had been spoken, than they
 inform’d the other Commissioners of it, gave
 them a Charge in writing against the Preacher,
 and demanded Publick Justice. They were trou-
 bled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause
 some Severe Punishment to be inflicted upon
 the Man; but afterwards confessed, ‘ that they
 ‘ had no Authority to punish him, but that they
 ‘ had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and
 ‘ to be sent out of the Town. And this was the
 same Mr. Love, who some Years after, by Crom-
 well’s particular Prosecution, had his Head cut off
 for being in a Plot with the Scots against the Army,
 and the Parliament.

The first Business to be enter’d upon, being that
 of Religion, the Divines of both Sides were ad-
 mitted to be present in the Places appointed for
 them opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward,
 Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Com-
 missioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other
 Side; and they both sat cover’d without
 the Bar, at the Backs of the Commissioners. On
 the Parliament Part it was proposed, ‘ that all the
 ‘ Bishops, Deans and Chapters. might be immedi-
 ‘ ately taken away, and abolished; and in the
 ‘ Room thereof that there might be another Go-
 ‘ vernment erected, such as should be most agree-
 ‘ able to God’s Word, and the Practice of the
 ‘ best Churches: That the Book of Common-
 ‘ Prayer

*First of Re-
 ligion.*

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‘ Prayer might be taken away, and totally suppressed; and that instead thereof a Directory might be used; and ‘ that the King himself should ‘ take the Covenant, and consent to an Act of ‘ Parliament, whereby all Persons of the Kingdom ‘ should be likewise obliged to take it. And the Copies of the Covenant, and the Directory, were deliver’d at the same Time to the King’s Commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any Answer could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourn’d their Treaty till the next Morning; and though they enter’d upon the reading them before Dinner, the Directory was so very long that they spent all that Afternoon, and some Part of the Night, before they had finished the reading of them. Then there being many new Terms in the Directory, as *Congregational, Classical, Provincial, and Synodical*, and some Expressions in the Covenant which were Ambiguous, the King’s Commissioners caused many Questions to be prepared in writing to be offer’d at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be inform’d what their meaning was in such and such Expressions.

About the Beginning of the Treaty, the Earl of *Lowden* Chancellor, of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber, and was very willing to have private Conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who upon notice presently went to the Duke’s Chamber, where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told them, ‘ how stoutly he ‘ had defended his Knighthood, which the Parliament had resolv’d to have denied, if he had ‘ not convinced them. Thence he discoursed of ‘ the great Prejudice the Parliament had against ‘ him, as a Man who more industriously oppos’d ‘ Peace than any other of the King’s Council; that ‘ he had now a good Opportunity to wipe off all ‘ those Jealousies, by being a good Instrument in ‘ making this Peace, and by perswading his Majesty to comply with the Desires and Supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would

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would be. The Chancellor told him, that the King did so much Desire a Peace, that no Man need advise him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable Conditions of Peace were offer'd to him; but if a Peace could not be had but upon such Conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent with his Honour or his Conscience, no Man could have Credit enough to perswade him to accept it; and that for his own Part, without reflecting upon the good or ill Opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it. The other seem'd disappointed in his so positive Answer, yet with great Freedom enter'd upon Discourse of the whole Matter; and after some kind of Apology, that *Scotland* was so far engaged in the Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions and Professions, he did as good as conclude, that if the King would satisfy them in the Business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other Demands. In which Proposition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, from that time there was more Contradiction and quick Repartees between them Two throughout the Treaty, than between any other of the Commissioners.

When, upon the next meeting of the Commissioners, the Questions, which were mention'd before, were read, and deliver'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, who allways perform'd that Part on the behalf of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliaments, there was a visible disorder in their Countenances: Some of them, smiling, said, we look'd into their Gaine; but without offering at any Answer, they rose, and went to their Room of Consultation, where they remain'd in some great Dispute many Hours: So that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourn'd till the Afternoon, and departed to Dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were late, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, that they

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' wonder'd there should appear any difficulty in
 ' any Expressions, upon which those Questions had
 ' been administer'd in the Morning, which to them
 ' seem'd very clear and plain; however, to give
 ' their Lordship's Satisfaction that they had appoint-
 ' ed another Noble Lord, there present, who
 ' was well acquainted with the Signification of all
 ' those Words, to explain what the Common Sense
 and Meaning of them was. Thereupon the Earl
 of *Lantherdale* made a Discourse upon the several
 Questions, and what Acceptation those Expressions
 and Words had. But being a Young Man, not ac-
 custom'd to an orderly and decent Way of speak-
 ing, and full of Passion, he made every thing much
 more difficult than it was before: So that the Commis-
 sioners desired that they might receive an Answer in
 ' Writing; since it was declared upon the Entrance of
 ' the Treaty that though in Debate any Man might say
 ' what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be
 ' understood to be the Sense of either Side
 ' but what was deliver'd in Writing; and there-
 ' fore they desired that what that Noble Lord
 ' had said, which they presumed was the Sense
 ' of the rest, because they had referr'd to him, and
 ' seem'd satisfied with what he had deliver'd,
 ' might be given to them in Writing; without which
 ' they knew not how to proceed, or give an An-
 ' swer to what was propos'd to them. This de-
 mand, founded upon a Rule of their own, which
 they knew not how to decline, put the *Scottish*
 Commissioners into great Passion: For all
 the *English* sat still without speaking a Word,
 as if they were not concern'd. The Lord
Lantherdale repeated what he had said be-
 fore, a little more distinctly and the Chan-
 cellor of *Scotland* said, ' that the things were so
 plain, that no Man could chuse but understand,
 ' and remember what was spoke; and that the pres-
 ' sing to put it in Writing was only to spend time
 ' which would be quickly out, half the Time,
 ' assign'd for the Business of Religion being to
 ' expire that Night; and therefore passionately
 ' desired them that they would rest satisfied with
 ' what had been spoken, and proceed upon the
 ' Matter.

It

It was replied, ' that they could not trust their
' Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to
' their Demands concerning the Covenant or
' Directory, except they were sure that they un-
' derstood the full and declared meaning of their
' Demand; which they had less Reason now to
' believe they did than before, since there was
' so much difficulty made to satisfy them in Wri-
' ting; and therefore they must insist upon receiv-
' ing an Answer to the Papers they had given:
And Two or Three of the King's Commis-
sioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in
which they set down the Reasons which obliged
them not to be satisfied with the Discourse which
had been made, and why they must insist upon
the having it in Writing; which being communicated
to the rest as they sat, was likewise deliver'd to the
others; who could not refuse to receive it, though
it was plain enough they never intended to give
an Answer in Writing, nor they on the King's
Side to desist from demanding it: But they declar-
ed, ' that as they presumed, they should, in the end,
' receive their Answer in writing, which they
' should not depart from, so it was their Re-
' solution not to defer their farther proceeding
upon the Matter: But they were ready to prosecute
' that in the Method they would desire; and so
it was resolv'd ' the next Morning to hear the
' Divines, who were of either Party, what they
' would say against or for Episcopacy, and the Go-
' vernment, and Lands of the Church, which were
' equally concern'd in the Debate.

On the King's Part, besides Dr. Steward, who
was a Commissioner in Matters relating to the
Church, there was Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Lany, Dr. Fern,
Dr. Potter, and Dr. Hammond, all being the King's
Chaplains; on the Parliament Side, besides Mr.
Alexander Henderson, who was the Commissioner,
were Mr. Marshal, Mr. Vines, Mr. Cheynel, and Two
or Three others.

Mr. Henderson began rather with the Necessity
' to change the Government of the Church for
' the Preservation of the State, which was so
' much in Danger that it could be preserv'd no
' other Way; and therefore that in Conscience
' it

Mr. Hen-
derson's
Speech at
the Treaty
about
Church Go-
vernment.

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' it ought to be consented to; that the Question
 ' was not about the Preservation of both, which
 ' by the Wisdoms of the Parliaments of both
 ' Nations was found to be impossible; but since
 ' there could but one stand, whether they should
 ' be both sacrificed, or the Church given up,
 ' that the State might be preserv'd: Nor was the
 ' Question now whether Episcopacy was law-
 ' ful, and the Government by Bishops consistent
 ' with Religion, but whether it was so necessary
 ' that Religion could not be preserv'd without
 ' it; which was to condemn all the reform'd Church-
 ' es of *Europe*, where there were no Bishops, *Eng-*
 ' *land* only excepted. It ought therefore to suf-
 ' fice, that the Parliament, which best understood
 ' what was good for the Nation, had found it
 ' to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and cor-
 ' rupt Government, that had been productive of
 ' great Mischief to the Kingdom from the ve-
 ' ry Time of the Reformation; that the Bi-
 ' shops had always favour'd Popery, and preserv'd
 ' and continued many of the Rights and Customs
 ' thereof in their Government and Practice;
 ' and of late introduced many Innovations in-
 ' to the Church, by the Example and Pattern of
 ' the Church of *Rome*, and to the Scandal of the
 ' Protestant Churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*
 ' and *Holland*; that they had been the Occasion
 ' of the War between the Two Nations of *Scot-*
 ' *land* and *England*, and then of the Rebellion
 ' in *Ireland*, and now of the Civil War in *England*;
 ' and thereupon that the Parliament, in order to
 ' the uniting all the Protestant Churches, which
 ' was the only Way to extinguish Popery, had
 ' resolv'd to change this inconvenient, mischie-
 ' vous Government, and erect another in the
 ' Place of it, which should advance Piety and
 ' True Religion; and that he hoped the King
 ' would concur in so Godly an Action,
 ' which would prove so much for his Glo-
 ' ry. He took Notice of 'an old Answer
 ' formerly made by a King of *England*, when
 ' the Alteration of some Laws had been desired

of him, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutare*; which, he said, must be a Mistake in the Impression: That it was impossible for any King to lay it down as a Rule that he will not change the Laws: for most Kings had changed them often for their own and their Subjects Benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Anglia mutari*, we will change them as often as there shall be Occasion, but we will not suffer them *mutari* to be changed by the Presumption of others, without our consent. He said, they did not presume to think of Compelling the King to change the Government of the Church; but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble Petition of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and their Benefit: That he should say no more till they should hear the Reasons from the Divines on the other Side, why his Majesty should not consent to the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceiv'd nothing of Conscience could be alledged against it, because it appear'd by what his Majesty had consented to in *Scotland*, for the utter abolishing of Bishops, that he did not believe in his Conscience that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the Support of Christian Religion.

Dr. Steward told the Commissioners, that he hoped, and knew, that their Lordships were too well acquainted with the Constitution of the Church of *England*, and the Foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those Arguments which had been made against it. He said, that though he did believe, it was impossible to prove that a Government, settled and continued without intermission, from the Time when Christianity was planted in *England*, and under which the Christian Religion had so much flourished, was an Unlawful and Anti-christian Government, that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to perswade their Lordships to concur with them in pressing the King to join in the same Obligation, would not urge a less Argument for such their Engagement, than the Unlawfulness and

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‘ Wickedness of that Government which Conscience
 ‘ obliged them to remove. But Mr. *Henderson*
 ‘ had wisely declined that Argument, though in
 ‘ their Common Sermons, and other Discourses in
 ‘ Print, they gave it no better Stile than *Anti-*
 ‘ *christian*; and had urg’d only the Inconveniencies
 ‘ which had fallen out from it, and Benefit which
 ‘ would result by the Change, of which no Judg-
 ‘ ment could be made till it might be known what
 ‘ Government they did intend to erect in the Place
 ‘ of it; since the Union with the Foreign Prote-
 ‘ stant Churches seem’d to be their greatest Reason
 ‘ for the prodigious Alteration they propos’d, he
 ‘ wish’d that they would set down which Foreign
 ‘ Church it was to which they meant to conform,
 ‘ and make their new Government by, for that
 ‘ he was assur’d that the Model which they seem’d
 ‘ to affect in their Directory, was not like to any
 ‘ of the Foreign Reform’d Churches now in the
 ‘ World. He said, ‘ though he would not take upon
 ‘ him to Censure the Foreign Churches, yet it was
 ‘ enough known, that the most learned Men of
 ‘ those Churches had lamented that their Re-
 ‘ formation was not so Perfect as it ought to be for
 ‘ want of Episcopacy, which they could not be
 ‘ suffer’d to have: And they had always paid that
 ‘ Reverence to the Church of *England*, which they
 ‘ conceiv’d due to it as to the Church to which God
 ‘ had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation,
 ‘ because it retain’d all that was Innocent, or Vene-
 ‘ rable in Antiquity. He then enlarg’d upon the
 ‘ Original Institution of Episcopacy; using all those
 Arguments which are still used by the most learned
 Men in those Disputes, to prove that without Bi-
 shops there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and
 consequently no Administration of Sacraments, or
 Performance of the Ministerial Functions. He said,
 ‘ he would not presume to say any thing of his
 Majesty’s having consented to the Abrogation of
 ‘ Episcopacy in *Scotland*, though he knew what his
 ‘ Majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an
 ‘ Obligation upon him in Conscience in this King-
 ‘ dom, which he had not in that, his Coronation
 ‘ Oath, by which he was Bound to Defend the
 ‘ Rights

‘ Rights of the Church; and that alone would
‘ make it unlawful for his Majesty to Consent to
‘ what was propos’d, both in the Point of Epis-
‘ copacy, and the Alienation of the Lands of
‘ the Church; which would be direct Sacri-
‘ lege.

When the last of the Three first Days was past,
and the *Scotish* Commissioners observ’d that no-
thing was consented to which they look’d for, the
Chancellor of *Scotland* enter’d into a long Dis-
course against Bishops, ‘ of the Mischief they had
‘ done in all Ages, and of their being the Sole
‘ Causes of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of
‘ the Present Troubles in *England*: Remember’d,
‘ that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had pursued
‘ the Introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons
‘ into *Scotland* with so great Vehemence, that when
‘ it was desired that the publishing them might
‘ be suspended for One Month, that the People
‘ might be the better prepared to submit to what
‘ they had not been before acquainted with, he
‘ would by no Means Consent to that delay, but
‘ caused it to be enter’d upon the next *Sunday*,
‘ against the Advice of many of the Bishops them-
‘ selves; which put the People into such a Fury, that
‘ they could not be appeas’d. He lamented and
‘ complain’d, that Three Days had been now spent
‘ in fruitless Debates; and that though their Divines
‘ had learnedly made it appear that Episcopacy had
‘ no Foundation in Scripture, and that it might be
‘ lawfully taken away, and that notwithstanding
‘ it was evident, that it had been the Cause of great
‘ Mischief, and the Wisdom of Parliament had
‘ thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely
‘ necessary for the Preservation of the Kingdom,
‘ their Lordships were still unmoved, and had
‘ yielded in no one Particular of Importance to
‘ give them Satisfaction; from which they could
‘ but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty
‘ Inclination to Peace, which they hoped they would
‘ have done; and so concluded with some Expressions
more Rude and Harsh than were expected.

Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
not without some Commotion said, ‘ that he did

' not wonder that their Lordships, who had for
 ' some Years been accustomed to such Discourses,
 ' and the more inclin'd to suppose all that was
 ' confidently said to be reasonably prov'd, and so
 ' having not been used to converse with any Per-
 ' sons of a contrary Opinion, had been brought to
 ' Consent and Approve those Alterations which they
 ' had propos'd; but that it seem'd very admir-
 ' able to him that their Lordships could expect or
 ' imagine it possible, that they, who never had heard
 ' such things said before, nor could understand in
 ' so little Time what had been now said, should
 ' depart from a Faith, and a Form of Worship,
 ' in which they had been Educated from their Crad-
 ' dles, and which upon so long Observation and
 ' Experience they look'd upon with all possible Ap-
 ' probation and Reverence, upon only hearing it
 ' inveigh'd against Three Days, which would have
 ' been much too little Time to have warrant'd a
 ' Conversion from much less important Opinions
 ' they had so long entertain'd, though their Ar-
 ' guments had had as much Weight as they want-
 ' ed. He said, ' they were of Opinion that all those
 ' Mischiefs and Inconveniencies which they had men-
 ' tion'd had in Truth proceeded from an over ve-
 ' hement Desire to Overthrow Episcopacy, not from
 ' the Zeal to Support it: That if the Archbishop
 ' of *Canterbury* had been too precipitate in pressing
 ' the Reception of that which he thought a Re-
 ' formation, he paid dearly for it; which made him
 ' the more wonder that they should blame them
 ' for not submitting to much greater Alterations
 ' than were at that Time propos'd, in Three Days,
 ' when they reproach'd him for not having given
 ' them a whole Month to consider. He said, ' he
 ' might assure their Lordships with great Sincerity,
 ' that they were come thither with all ima-
 ' ginable Passion and Desire that the Treaty might
 ' conclude in a Happy and Blessed Peace, as he still
 ' hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise,
 ' that they would still believe their Lordships
 ' brought with them the same Honourable and Pi-
 ' ous Inclinations, though the Instructions, and
 ' Commands from those who trusted them restrain'd
 ' them

‘ them from consenting to what in their own Judge-
‘ ments seem’d reasonable. And so without any
manner of Reply both Sides arose, and departed, it be-
ing near Midnight.

In private Discourse among the Commissioners a-
bout the omitting of the Creed, Commandments, &c.
Pembroke said he was sorry for the Omission; that the
‘ putting them in had taken up many Hours De-
‘ bate in the House of Commons, and that at last
‘ the leaving them out had been carried by Eight
‘ or Nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to
‘ insist upon the Addition of them in the House
‘ of Peers: But many were afterwards troubled at
‘ it; and he verily believ’d, if it were to do again, they
‘ should carry it for the inserting ’em all; which made
‘ some smile to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Com-
mandments, had been put to the Question, and Reject-
ed: And many of the other were Troubled, and out
of Countenance with the Reason the Good Lord had
given for the Exclusion.

The next Subject of the Treaty was the Business
of the Militia, which the Commissioners of the Par-
liament required ‘ to be entirely vested in the Par-
‘ liament, and in such Persons as they thought fit
‘ to be confided in. This, they said, was more ne-
‘ cessary than ever, for the securing the People from
‘ their Fears and Jealousies; which were now
‘ much encreased, and were capable of being af-
‘ fected by no other Means: *Sir Edward Hyde* in-
sisted Positively it was in the King, but
was so opposed and answered by *Whitlock*, that he
received the thanks of the Parliament Commis-
sioners for it. Indeed they of that Side (even they
who most desired the Peace) both pub-
lickly and privately insisted ‘ upon having the whole
‘ Command of the Militia by Sea and Land, and
‘ all the Forts, and Ships of the Kingdom at their
‘ Disposal; without which they look’d upon them-
‘ selves as lost, and at the King’s Mercy; and in this
Particular, he who was most reasonable among them
thought it very unreasonable to deny them that
necessary Security; and believ’d it could proceed
from nothing else but a Resolution to take the high-
est Vengeance in Time upon them.

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Parlia-
ments Com-
missioners
Speech a-
bout the
Cessation in
Ireland.

Then they enter'd upon the Business of *Ireland*; in which they thought they had the King at very great Advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that Particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's Part thought it would be a hard Matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any Thing of Grace towards the *Irish* Rebels was as ungracious at *Oxford* as it was at *London*; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great Detestation of them. They repeated all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; 'how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that War to the Two Houses of Parliament; that they had levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burthen upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, upon Assurance of having Land assign'd to them in that Kingdom out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels as soon as the Rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace or Cessation with those Rebels, or to Grant Pardon to any of them without Consent of the Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's Subjects had brought in very Considerable Sums of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; probably by that Time the whole Rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his Promise and Obligations by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with those Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War and had call'd over many of those Regiments which the Parliament had sent over against the *Irish*, to return hither to fight against the Parliament: By Means where-
of

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of his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in great Danger to be destroyed, and the Kingdom to be entirely possessed by the Papists. They enlarged themselves upon this Subject very much, and demanded, that the King would forthwith declare that Cessation to be Void; and that he would prosecute the War against those Rebels with the utmost Fury; and that the Act of Parliament for their Reduction might be executed as it ought to be.

The Commissioners of the King prepar'd and deliver'd an Answer in Writing to all their Demands; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Appointment enlarged upon the Particulars. He put them in Mind of their bringing those very Troops, which were levied by the King's Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the King at Edge-hill, under the Command of the Earl of Essex; of their having given over the Prosecution of that War, or sending any Supply of Arms, or Ammunition thither; having imployed those Magazines which were provided for that Service against his Majesty; in so much as the Privy Council of that Kingdom had sent to his Majesty, that he would provide some other Way for the Preservation of that Kingdom, since they could not be able to Support the War any longer against the united Power of the Rebels: That all Overtures, which his Majesty had made towards Peace, had been rejected by the Parliament; and One Hundred Thousand Pounds, brought in by the Adventurers for Ireland, had been sent in One entire Sum into Scotland, to prepare and dispose that Kingdom to send an Army to invade this; which they had done; and till then his Majesty had not, in the least Degree, swerved from the Observation of that Act of Parliament; but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of Prosecuting the End and Intention of that Statute, applied it wholly to the carrying on the War against himself, he thought himself absolv'd before God and Man, if he did all he could to rescue and Defend himself against

Answered
by the
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer.

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' their Violence, by making a Cessation with the
 ' Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing over some
 ' Regiments of his own Army from thence to as-
 ' sist him in *England*: Which Cessation had hither-
 ' to preserved the Protestants of that Kingdom;
 ' who were not able without Supplies to preserve
 ' themselves from the Strength and Power of the
 ' Rebels, which Supplies his Majesty could not, and the
 ' Parliament would not, send; and therefore if the
 ' Protestants there should hereafter be oppressed by
 ' the Rebels, who every Day procured Assistance
 ' from abroad, and so were like to be more
 ' powerful, all the Mischiefs and Misery that
 ' must attend them, would before God and
 ' and Man, be put to the Account of the Parlia-
 ' ment, which had defrauded them of those Sup-
 ' plies, which* by his Majesty's Care had been raised
 ' and provided for them; and not to his Majesty,
 ' who had done nothing but what he was obliged
 ' to do for his own Preservation; and if he had
 ' not sent for those Soldiers from *Ireland*, they
 ' could not have staid there without a Supply of
 ' Money, Cloaths, and Provisions; which the Par-
 ' liament had not yet sent to that Part of the Ar-
 ' my which remaind there, and which could by
 ' no other Way have subsisted, but by the Benefit and
 ' Security of the Cessation. He told them, ' that
 ' all this unjustifiable Way of Proceeding, though it
 ' had compell'd the King to yield to a Cessation,
 ' yet could not prevail with him to make a Peace
 ' with the *Irish* Rebels, from whom he had ad-
 ' mitted Commissioners to attend him with Pro-
 ' positions and Demands so unreasonable, that he
 ' could not Consent to them in Conscience; and
 ' that they were inconsistent with the Security of
 ' his Protestant Subjects there, he had totally
 ' rejected them, and dismissed their Com-
 ' missioners with Severe and Sharp Animad-
 ' versions: Yet that he had given his Lieute-
 ' nant and Council there Authority to continue
 ' the Cessation longer, in Hope that the Rebels
 ' there might be reduced to better Temper; or
 ' that his Majesty might be enabled by a Happy
 ' Peace here, which he hoped this Treaty would
 ' produce, to chastise their Odious and Ob-
 ' stinate

‘stinate Rebellion : And if the Parliament would
‘yet give his Majesty sufficient Caution that the
‘War should be vigorously prosecuted against the
‘*Irish*, by sending over strong Supplies of Men,
‘and Money, he would put an end to that Ces-
‘sation without declaring it void, which other-
‘wise he could not in Justice do, and the doing
‘whereof would be to no Purpose.

The Commissioners, reply’d, ‘that they were
‘sorry to find that Odious and Detestable Rebel-
‘lion had received so much Grace, as that Com-
‘missioners from it had been admitted into the
‘King’s Presence ; and that they wondered there
‘should be any Scruple made of declaring that Cessa-
‘tion void, that was enter’d into expressly against
‘the Letter of an Act of Parliament. This Reply
they gave in Writing, with many Pathetical Ex-
pressions against the Murthers and Cruelties that
had been used in the beginning of that Rebellion ;
which obliged the King’s Commissioners to more
sharpness in their returns than was proper ; and
to tell them ‘they wished it were in the King’s
‘Power to punish all Rebellion with that Severity
‘that was due to it, but since it was not so, he
‘must condescend to Treaties, and to all other
‘Expedients which were necessary to reduce his Sub-
‘jects who were in Rebellion to return to their Duty
‘and Obedience.

We shall but just mention the Surprizal of *Shrews-
bury*, by *Langborn* and *Mitton* in the Interim of this
Treaty, which was a vast Loss to the King, and if
my Lord Cl—— Authority be good, the Par-
liament’s Commissioners were far from being all of a
Piece.

He tells us, One Night late, the Earl of *Pem-
broke* came to his Lodging, to return him a visit, *Earl of
Pembroke.*
and sate with him some Hours ; all his Discourse
being to perswade him to think it reasonable to
consent to all that the Parliament had demanded.
He told him, ‘that there was never such a Pack of
‘Knaves and Villains as they who now govern’d
in the Parliament, who would so far pre-
vail, if this Treaty were broke off, as re-
move the Earl of *Essex* ; and then they would
‘constitute such an Army as should Force the Par-
liament,

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liament, as well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they demanded; which would end in the Change of the Government into a Commonwealth. The Chancellor told him, 'if he believ'd that, it was time for the Lords to look about them, who would be then no less concern'd than the King. He confessed it, and that they were now sensible that they had brought this Mischief upon themselves, and did heartily repent it, though too late; and when they were, in no degree, able to prevent the General Destruction which they foresaw: But if the King would be so Gracious to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable Propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other Wicked Persons would be disappointed by such his Concessions; the Earl of *Essex* would still keep his Power, and they should be able, in a short time, after the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive these Wicked Men, who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom; and then his Majesty would be greater than ever.

Northum-
berland.

Earl of Sa-
lisbury.

He adds, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the Proudest Man Alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the Contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and must be then encreased, with any Pleasure: Yet the Repulse he had formerly receiv'd at *Oxford*, upon his Address thither, and the fair Escape he had made afterwards from the Jealousie of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolv'd no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's Power and Authority so much restrain'd that he might not be able to do him any Harm. That the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Salisbury* were so totally without Credit or Interest in the Parliament or Country, that it was no Matter which Way their Inclinations or Affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Factions that prevailed was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wished they might rather be destroy'd than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroy'd than that

that *Wilton* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the Preservation of both which from any Danger they both believ'd to be the highest Point of Prudence, and Politick Circumspection.

The Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater Parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate Designs of that Party that had then the Power, than either of the other Three, and detested those Designs as much as any of them; that yet the Pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the Conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had receiv'd from them most Signal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employ'd by them, yet he thought the King's Condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compell'd to yeild to worse Conditions than were now offer'd to him. That he conferr'd with so much Freedom with one of the King's Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant Hours, there having been formerly a great Friendship between them, that he drew some Jealousie upon himself from some of his Companions. That with him he lamented his own Condition, and acknowledged his Disloyalty to the King with Expressions of great Compunction; and protested that he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions by any Attempt that might serve the King Signally, though he were sure to lose his Life in it; but that to lose himself, without any Benefit to the King, would expose him to all Misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his Party. That he inform'd him more fully of the Wicked Purpose of those who then govern'd the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagin'd, and had a full Prospect of the Vile Condition himself and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any Authority of their own; and concluded, that if any Conjunction fell out, in which by losing his Life he might preserve the King, he would embrace the Occasion; otherwise he would shift
the

Earl of
Denbigh.

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the best he could for himself. That of the Commissioners of the House of Commons, tho' *Vane*, *St. John* and *Prideaux* excepted, the rest did in their Hearts desire a Peace, and upon much Honeſter Conditions than they duſt own; yet there were not Two of them who had entire Confidence in each other, or who durſt communicate their Thoughts together: So that though they could ſpeak their Minds freely enough, ſeverally, to thoſe Commissioners of the King's Side with whom they had former Friendſhip, they would not in the preſence of any of their own Companions, uſe that Freedom. That the Debate that had been in the Houſe upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raiſed ſo many Jealouſies, and diſcomposed the Confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do: Many who had from the beginning of the Troubles, profeſſed to have moſt Devotion for the Earl of *Effex*, and abhor all his Enemies, had lately ſeem'd to concur in that Ordinance, which was contriv'd principally for his Diſhonour and Deſtruction; and others who ſeem'd ſtill to adhere to him, did it with ſo many Cautions, that there could be no Confidence of their Perſeverance.

*Hollis.**Whitlock.**Pierpoint and Crew.*

That *Hollis*, who was the frankeſt among them in owning his Animofity and Indignation againſt all the Independent Party, was no otherwiſe affected to the Presbyterians than as they conſtituted a Party, upon which he depended to oppoſe the other, and did foreſee that many of thoſe who appear'd moſt reſolute to concur with him, would by Degrees fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he a-bounded. That *Whitlock*, who from the beginning had concurr'd with them without any Inclinations to their Perſons, or their Principles, had the ſame Reaſon ſtill not to ſeparate from them. That all his Eſtate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear or ſubmit to be undone: Though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he uſed his old Openneſs, and profeſſed his Detestation of all the Proceedings of his Party, yet could not leave them. That *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greateſt Moderation in their Coun-

Councils, and most Sollicitous upon all Opportunities for Peace, appear'd now to have contracted more Bitterness and Sourness than formerly; and were more reserv'd towards the King's Commissioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences insisted peremptorily, ' that the King must yield to ' whatsoever was required in the Three Demands, ' which had been Debated. That they all valued themselves ' upon having induced the Parliament, ' against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; ' which producing no effect, they should hereafter ' have no more Credit.

Some of them, and that wisely as Things stood, did wish that, to get the time of the Treaty prolonged, some Concessions might be made in ' the Point of the Militia, in order to their Security; ' which being provided for, might probably take ' off many Persons, who out of that Consideration principally adhered to those who they ' thought were most Jealous of it, and most Sollicitous for it. This appear'd to be such an Expedient to those to whom they proposed it, that ' they thought fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners about it; and if it should produce no other effect, than the getting more ' Days to the Treaty, and making more Divisions in ' the Parliament, both which they might naturally ' expect from it, the Benefit was not small that ' would attend it; for as long as the Treaty lasted, ' there could be little advance made towards new ' modelling the Army, the delay whereof would ' give the King likewise more time to make his ' Preparations for the Field, towards which he ' was in no forwardness. This Consideration prevail'd with the Commissioners to send their Opinion to the King, ' that he would give them ' leave to propose, when the next Day came for ' the Debate of the Point of the Militia, that the ' whole Militia of the Kingdom should be settled ' in such Number of Persons, for Seven or Eight ' Years, who might be all Sworn to the Observation of all the Articles which should be agreed ' upon in the Treaty; and after the expiration of ' which time, which would be sufficient to extin-

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guish all Jealousies, it should be restored to the King. And they sent the King a List of such Names, as they wish'd might be inserted in the Proposition, of Persons in Credit with the Parliament, to which his Majesty might add the like Number of such, of whose Fidelity he was most assured.

The Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and *Manchester*, with *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, were among those they recommended to be named by the King. With this Message they sent Two of their own Body, who added other Reasons, which they hoped might prevail with him; and it was with great difficulty the King was prevailed with to consent that such an Overture should be made. But at last he was contented that the Commissioners should make such an Offer, and name the Persons they had proposed of the Parliament Party; and withal, he sent a List of such Persons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the Power of the Militia to be vested. But by this time, the Term assign'd for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first advised this Expedient had not the same Opinion of the Success; and had plainly discovered that the Parliament would not consent to add one Day more to the Treaty; so the farther Prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside. For the King's Commissioners concluded, that at this time to offer any Particular Names from the King to be trusted with the Militia, was but to expose those Persons to reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpopular to them; and to give the other Side an Excuse for rejecting the Offer upon Exception to their Persons. However, they offer'd, that the Militia should be so settled for the Space of Seven Years, as they had desired in such a Number of Persons as should be agreed upon, a Moiety of which Persons should be nominated by the King, and the other Moiety by the Parliament, which was rejected as no Ways Satisfactory; and from this time forward the Commissioners on both Sides grew more reserv'd and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last Conferences the Answers and Replies

plies upon one another were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: And in their Conference upon the last Day, which held most Part of the Night, it was evident either Side labour'd most to make the other seem to be most in Fault. The King's Commissioners deliver'd a Paper, which contain'd a Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observ'd, 'that after a War of so many Years enter'd into, as was pretended for the Defence and Vindication of the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of Twenty Days they had not demanded any One Thing, that by the Law of the Land they had the least Title to demand; but insist'd only on such Particulars as were against Law, and the Establish'd Government of the Kingdom; and that much more had been offer'd to them for the obtaining of Peace than they could with Justice or Reason require: With which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper, upon an Allegation that the time for the Treaty was expired.

Upon the whole, the King's Commissioners thought the Advantage much on their Part, that longer time to Treat was denied by the Parliament, and gave out, that if that had been granted there would have been an Happy Issue of the Treaty. Whereas the other Side affirmed there could be no such Expectation, when no One of the Parliament's Propositions was granted by the King during the whole time of the Treaty. But there was something more in this Matter, if we believe a Modern Author, I mean Dr. *Wellwood*, than People were then, and some time since aware of, which he relates after this Manner. That many Endeavours were us'd from time to time to bring Matters to an Accommodation by Way of Treaty; but still some One unluckily Accident or other render'd them all Abortive. At the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, though the Parliaments Demands were high, and the King shew'd a more than ordinary Aversion to comply with them, yet the ill Posture of the King's Affairs at that time, and the Fatal Consequence they fear'd would

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would follow upon breaking it, oblig'd a great many of the King's Friends, and more particularly that Noble Person, the Earl of *Southampton*, who had gone Post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that Purpose, to press the King again and again upon their Knees, to yield to the Necessity of the Times; and by giving his Assent to some of the most Material *Propositions* that were sent him, to settle a lasting Peace with his People. The King was at last prevailed with to follow their Council; and the next Morning was appointed for Signing a *Warrant* to his Commissioners to that effect. And so sure were they of a Happy End of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *He hoped that his Majesty would Drink better before a Week was over at Guildhall with the Lord Mayor*. But so it was, that when they came early next Morning to wait upon him with the *Warrant* that had been agreed upon over Night, they found his Majesty had chang'd his Resolution, and was become inflexible in these Points. He goes on and says, that the unhappy Occasion of this Alteration had lain hitherto a *Secret* in History, and might have continued such still, if a Letter from the *Marquis of Montross* in *Scotland*, whereof he had seen a Copy under the Duke of *Richmond's* Hand, did not give a sufficient Light into it. And that to make the Matter better understood, it was necessary to say something of *Montross* and his Actions in *Scotland*.

Montross
his great
Actions.

That this Nobleman had been at first very Active and Zealous for the Liberties of his Country; and was the first Man that pass'd the River *Tweed* at the Head of Five Hundred Horse, upon the *Scots First Expedition* into *England*. But being afterwards dissatisfy'd, or, as some said, repenting of his former Error, he left that Side, and came in to the King at the breaking of the War between him and the Parliament. That when the *Scots* came into *England* the Second time to assist the Parliament, *Montross* apply'd himself to the King for a *Commission* to levy War against his Rebel Subjects, as they were call'd, of *Scotland*; assuring his Majesty he was able

able with the Assistance of his Friends, and Concurrence of the rest of the Royal Party, to make at least a very considerable Diversion, if not to Reduce the whole Country to his Majesty's Obedience. That accordingly the *Marquis* was made *Gouverneur of Scotland*; where in the Space of Five Months, with a Handful of Raw, Undisciplin'd Men, and those not half Arm'd, he did overrun a great Part of the Country, and gain'd Three very considerable *Battles*; the last of which was that of *Inverlochy*, fought the Second of *February*, 1645, according to the *Scotch Account*. That in this Battle the Earl of *Argyle* was entirely defeated, and the Prime of the Noble Family of the *Campbells* cut off, with inconsiderable Loss on *Montross's* Side; who next Day dispatch'd an Express to the King with the News of this and his Two former Victories; that his Letter, writ with such an Air of Assurance, and by a Person that was thought capable to make good his Promises, and the Matter contain'd in it suiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd to the King but a few Hours before he was to have Sign'd the *Warrant* before-mention'd, and had as ill Effects as the worst of King *Charles's* Enemies could have wish'd; for it dash'd out in a Moment all the Impressions his best Friends had been making upon him for a Considerable time towards a full Settlement with his People. That it look'd as if there was some secret *Fatality* in this whole Matter; for it could hardly have been imagin'd that a Letter, writ the Third of *February*, in the furthestmost North Corner of *Britain*, should come so soon to *Oxford*, considering the length of the Journey, the badness of the Roads at that time of the Year, especially through the Mountainous Parts of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's and *Scotch* Armies and Garrisons that were posted all along the Road: And that yet certain it is it came through all these Dangers and Inconveniencies in very few Days, since it was indors'd upon the Copy he had seen, That it was deliver'd to the King during the Treaty of *Uxbridge*; which every Body knew began the 30th of *January*, and ended the 22d of *February*: And that further, it

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it must have been deliver'd before the 19th of February, because the King took Notice of it in a Letter to the Queen, of that Date, found among others at Naseby wherein he said, *Though he left News to others, yet he could not but tell her, That even now he had received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given by Montros to Argyle, who upon surprize totally routed those Rebels, and kill'd Fifteen Hundred upon the Place.* And that it's remarkable, that in the same Letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning Montros's Victory, the King added, *That as for trusting the Rebels, either by going to London, or disbanding his Army before a Peace, they should no Ways fear his hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for he esteem'd the Interest she had in him at a far dearer Rate; and pretended to have little more Wit (at least by the Sympathy that was betwixt them) than to put himself into the Reverence of Perfidious Rebels.* Which Words being compared with Montros's Letter, it will be found the one is a Commentary upon the other. And that the Reader may the better do it the same here follows.

Montros
his Letter
to the King
Feb. 7.

May it please your Sacred Majesty,
TH E last Dispatch I sent your Majesty was by my Worthy Friend, and your Majesty's Brave Servant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September last; wherein I acquainted your Majesty with the Success of your Arms in this Kingdom, and of the Battles the Justice of your Cause has won over your obdur'd Rebel Subjects. Since Sir William Rollock went, I have travers'd all the North of Scotland, up to Argyle's Country; who durst not stay my coming, or I should have given your Majesty a good Account of him e'er now. But at last I have met with him Yesterday to his Cost; of which your Gracious Majesty be pleas'd to receive the following Particulars.

After I had laid waste the whole Country of Argyle, and brought off Provisions for my Army of what could be found, I receiv'd Information that Argyle was got together with a Considerable Army, made up chiefly of his own Clan, [Family], and Vassals, and Tenants, with others of the Rebels that join'd him; and that he

was

was at Innerlochy, where he expected the Earl of Seaforth, and the Sept [the Family] of the Fraziers, to come up to him with all the Forces they could get together. Upon this Intelligence I departed out of Argyleshire, and march'd through Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Lochneils; my Design being to fall upon Argyle, before Seaforth and the Fraziers cou'd join him. My March was through inaccessible Mountains, where I could have no Guides but Cow-herds, and they scarce acquainted with a Place but Six Miles from their own Habitations. If I had been attacked but with One Hundred Men in some of those Passes, I must have certainly return'd back, for it would have been Impossible to force my Way, most of the Passes being so strait that Three Men could not march a Brest. I was willing to let the World see that Argyle was not the Man his Highland Men believed him to be; and that it was possible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficultest March of all was over the Lochaber Mountains, which we at last surmounted, and came upon the back of the Enemy when they least expected us, having cut off some Scouts we met about Four Miles from Innerlochy. Our Van came within view of them about Five a Clock in the Afternoon, and we made a Halt till our Rear was got up, which could not be done till Eight at Night. The Rebels took the Alarm and stood to their Arms as well as we all Night, which was Moon light, and very Clear. There were some few Skirmishes between the Rebels and us all the Night, and with no loss on our side but One Man. By break of Day I order'd my Men to be ready to fall on upon the first Signal; and I understand since by the Prisoners, the Rebels did the same. A little after the Sun was up both Armies met, and the Rebels fought for some time with great Bravery; the Prime of the Campbells giving the first Onset, as Men that deserv'd to fight in a better Cause. Our Men having a Nobler Cause, did Wonders, came immediately to push of Pike, and dint of Sword, after their first firing. The Rebels could not stand it, but after some Resistance at first, began to run, whom we pursued for Nine Miles together, making a great slaughter; which I would have hindred, if possible, that I might save your Majesty's misde-

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Now, Sacred Sir, let me humbly intreat your Majesty's Pardon, if I presume to write you my poor Thoughts and Opinion about what I heard by a Letter I receiv'd from my Friends in the South last VWeek, as if your Majesty was entring into a Treaty with your Rebel Parliament in England. The Success of your Arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my Heart ; as that News from England is like to break it. And whatever come of me, I will speak my Mind freely to your Majesty ; for it's not mine, but your Majesty's Interest I seek. When I had the Honour of waiting upon your Majesty last, I told you at full length what I fully understood of the Designs of your Rebel Subjects, in both Kingdoms, which I had Occasion to know, as much as any one whatsoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their Interest. Your Ma-

Majesty may remember how much you said you were convinced I was in the right in my Opinion of them. I am sure there is nothing fallen out since to make your Majesty change your Judgment in all those things I laid before your Majesty at that time. The more your Majesty grants, the more will be ask'd; and I have too much Reason to know that they will not rest satisfied with less than making your Majesty a King of Straw. I hope the News I have receiv'd about a Treaty may be a Mistake, and the rather, that the Letter wherewith the Queen was pleas'd to Honour me, dated the 30th of December, Mentions no such thing. Yet I know not what to make of the Intelligence I receiv'd, since it comes from Sir Robert Spotswood, who writes it with great Regret; and its no Wonder, considering no Man living is a more true Subject to your Majesty, than he. Forgive me, Sacred Sovereign, to tell your Majesty That in my Poor Opinion it is unworthy of a King to treat with Rebel Subjects while they have the Sword in their Hands. And though God forbid I should stint your Majesty's Mercy, yet I must declare the Horror I am in when I think of a Treaty, while your Majesty and they are in the Field with Two Armies; unless they disband, and submit themselves entirely to your Majesty's Goodness and Pardon. As to the State of Affairs in this Kingdom the Bearer will fully inform your Majesty in every Particular; and give me leave with all Humility to assure your Majesty, that through God's Blessing I am in the fairest Hopes of reducing this Kingdom to your Majesties Obedience; and if the Measures I have Concerted with your other Loyal Subjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the End of this Summer I shall be able to come to your Majesty's Assistance with a Brave Army, which, backed with the Justice of your Majesty's Cause, will make the Rebels in England, as well as in Scotland, feel the Just Rewards of Rebellion; only give me leave, after I have reduced this Country to your Majesty's Obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beersheba, to say to your Majesty then, as David's Generals did to his Master; Come thou thy self, lest this Country be called by my Name: For in all my Acti-

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*ons I aim only at your Majesty's Honour and Interest,
as becomes one that is to his last Breath,*

May it please your Sacred Majesty,

Innerlochy in
Lochaber.
Feb. 3. 1645.

Your Majesties most Humble,
most Faithful, and most O-
bedient Subject and Ser-
vant,

Montross.

But enough of this unhappy Treaty, and but
just to mention here the Prince of *Wales* his being
made General of the King's Forces, and of the
Western Association: We are to observe the
Indisposition and Melancholy which now posses-
sed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party,
was preserved from Despair, only by the extraordi-
nary Discontents and Animosities in the Parliament,
which kept them from pursuing the Advantages
they had had by united Counsels. As soon as the
Commissioners were return'd from *Uxbridge*, and
that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the
Independent Party vigorously pressed on the *Self-
denying-Ordinance*, that so they might proceed to-
wards modelling their new Army, by putting out
the Old Officers; during the Suspension whereof there
was no Care for providing for the Troops they had,
or making Recruits, or preparing any of those Provi-
sions, which would be necessary for taking the
Field. They were now enter'd into the Month of
March, which was used as a Strong Argument by both
Parties, the one urging, 'from the Season of the Year,
the Necessity of expediting their Resolution for the
'passing the Ordinance, that the Army might be
'put into a posture of marching; the other pressing,
'that so great an Alteration ought not to be at-
'tempted when there was so short a time to make
'it in: That there would be apparent Danger
'that the Enemy would find them, without any
'Army at all, fit to take the Field; and therefore
desired, 'that all things might stand as they were
till

till the end of the next Campaign: when, if they saw
cause, they might resume this Expedient. The
other Party were loud against the delay; and said,
that was the Way to make the War last; for ma-
naged as it had been, they should be found at the
end of the next Campaign in the same Posture
they were now in; whereas they made no doubt
but, if this Ordinance was pass'd, they should pro-
ceed so vigorously, that the next Campaign
should put an end to the War. The Debate con-
tinued many Days in the House of Commons
with much Passion, and sharp Reflections upon
Things and Persons, whilst the House of Peers
look'd on, and attended the Resolution below. Of
the Presbyterian Party, which passionately opposed
the Ordinance, the Chief were *Hollis, Stapleton,*
Glyn, Waller, Long, and others, who believ'd their
Party much Superior in Number; as the Indepen-
dent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Crom-*
well, Haslerig, Martin, and others, who spoke
more and warmer than they that opposed them.
Of the House of Peers there was none thought to be
of this last but the Lord *Say*, all the rest were
supposed to be of the Earl of *Essex's* Party; and so
that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever
pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried
by the Commons: But they were in this, as in many
other things, disappointed; and for the Commons,
many, who had sat silent, and been brought to
have been of one Party, appear'd to be of the other.
And when the Debate grew ripe, *Saint John,*
Pierpoint, Whitlock, and *Crew*, who had been thought
to be of the Party of the Earl of *Essex*, appear'd for
passing the Ordinance, as the only Way to unite
their Councils, and to resist the Common Enemy;
saying, 'they discover'd by what they heard Abroad,
'and by the Spirit that govern'd in the City, that
'there would be a General Dissatisfaction in the
'People if this Ordinance were not passed. Then
'they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of
Essex, extolling his great Merit, and seem'd to fear,
'that the War would never be carried on so hap-
'pily, as it had been under him, or if it were,
'that the good Success must be still imputed to

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his Conduct and Courage, which had Form'd their Armies, and taught them to Fight. By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own Inclinations and Wishes purely for Peace and Unity, they so far prevail'd that the Ordinance was pass'd in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their Consent.

What Expectation soever there was, that the *Self-denying-Ordinance*, after it had, upon so long Deliberation, pass'd the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers, whereby the Earl of *Essex* would still have remain'd General, it did not take up so long Debate there. The Marquess of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and sat with the Commissioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great Ascendant. He was, in Matters of Religion, and in Relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in Matter of State, and with Reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhorr'd all Thoughts of Peace, and that the King should ever more have the Government, towards whose Person, notwithstanding the infinite Obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast Friendship with Sir *Harry Vane*, during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each others Principles in Government. From the time of his coming to the Town, the *Scottish* Commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance, or new modelling the Army: So that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* were to be dispossessed of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any Employment, either Martial or Civil, yet the Ordinance found little Opposition; and the Old Argument, that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of Mischievous Consequence to dissent from the House of Commons, so far prevailed, that it pass'd the House of Peers likewise; and there remain'd nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Essex*'s Surrender of his Commission into the Hands of the Parliament,

from

from whom he had receiv'd it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Mr *Thomas Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Essex* made not haste to surrender his Commission; but he did it at last at a Conference of Both Houses in the Painted-Chamber, and withal deliver'd to them, a paper wherein he declared 'with what Affection and Fidelity he had serv'd them, and as he had often ventur'd his 'Life for them, so he would willingly have lost it 'in their Service; and since they believ'd that 'what they had more to do would be better per- 'form'd by another Man, he submitted to their 'Judgment, and restor'd their Commission to them, 'hoping they would find an abler Servant: Con- cluding with some Expressions which made it mani- fest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: *The Earl of* And so left them, and return'd to his own House; *Essex re-* whither Both Houses, the next Day, went to at- *signs his* tend him, and to return their Thanks for the *Commission.* great Service he had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the Encomium, they could devise.

By this Self-denying-Ordinance, together with the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Sir *VVilliam Waller*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and Major General *Miffy*, lost their Commands; as *Cromwell* should likewise have done. But assoon as the Ordinance was pass'd, and before the Resignation of the Earl of *Essex*, the Party that Steer'd had caus'd him to be sent with a Body of Horse into the West to relieve *Taunton*, that he might be absent at the time when the other Officers deliver'd their Commissions, which was quickly observ'd; and thereupon Orders were given to require his present Attendance in Parliament, and that their new General should send some other Officers to attend that Service, which was pretended to be done; and the very Day named by which it was averr'd that he would be in the House. A Rendezvous was then appointed, for the new General to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint Officers to succeed those who

And divers other Officers.

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had left their Commands by Virtue of the Ordinance; and likewise in their Places who gave up their Commands, and refused to serve in the new Model, who were a great Number of their best Commanders. From this Rendezvous the General sent to desire the Parliament, 'that they would give Lieutenant General *Cromwell* leave to stay with him for some few Days, for his better Information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The Request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little Opposition was made to it: And shortly after, by another Letter, he desired, with very much Earnestness, 'that they would allow *Cromwell* to serve for that Campaign. Thus they compassed their whole Design, in being rid of all those whose Affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, modell'd the Army, and placed such Officers as were well known to him, and to no Body else; and absolutely govern'd the Whole Martial Affairs.

The new modelled Army was to consist in the whole of One and Twenty Thousand Men, viz, 6000 Horse, 1000 Dragoons, and 14000 Foot: That the Horse should be divided into Ten Regiments, the Dragoons into Ten Single Troops, and every Regiment of Foot to consist of at least 1200 Men, and the whole charge of this Army to be 44955 l. per Month, to be raised by Assessment proportionable throughout the Kingdom. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* being constituted General, and being upon his Arrival in *London* conducted to the House of Commons, the Speaker told him, that House, out of the great Experience and Confidence they had of his Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, had thought fit to confer the great Trust of commanding their Armies in Chief upon him; and giving him Thanks in the Name of the House for his many and great Services past, encouraged him to go on as he had begun, assuring him of the Care and Protection of the Parliament in the discharge of that Weighty Trust which the Kingdom had reposed in him.

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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A List of the Officers of the new modelled Army.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, *Commander in Chief*, Major General Skippon.

Officers of Horse.

Middleton.

Crayford.

Sidney.

Berkley.

Graves.

Holborn.

Sheffield.

Fortescue.

Col. Vermuden.

Ingoldsby.

Whalely.

Montague.

Sir Mich. Livesey.

Pickering.

Fleetwood.

Welden.

Rositer.

Rainsborough.

Sir Robert Pye.

But other Additions or Alterations soon followed. On the other Hand, having noted before the Prince's being made General in the Western Parts, the Lord Goring had been sent by his Majesty, before the time of the Prince's coming thither, with such a Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a Design of his own of making an Incurſion into *Suffex*, where he pretended he had Correspondence; and that very many well-affected Persons promised to rise, and declare for the King, and that *Kent* would do the same: A Commiſſion was granted to him of Lieutenant General of *Hampshire*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, without the least Purpose or Imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some Attempts he made in the beginning upon *Christ-Church* in *Hampshire*, a little unfortified Fisher-Town; yet was beaten off with loss: So that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*, where his Horse committed the same Horrid Outrages and Barbarities, as they had done in *Hampshire* without Distinction of Friends or Foes; so that those Parts, which seemed before very well devoted to the King, worried by Oppression, wished for the Access of any Forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those Parts, a Party of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command

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mand of *Vandruske*, a *German*, passed by him without Interruption to the Relief of *Taunton*, then block'd up by Colonel *Windham*, and reduced to some Streights, and accordingly effected it. About the same time Sir *Walter Hastings*, Governour of *Portland*, seconded by Sir *Lewis Dives*, (who had the Command of *Dorsetshire* as Colonel General) had surprized *Weymouth*, and possessed the Forts, and the upper Town, the Parliamentarians having withdrawn themselves into the Lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea, and of no considerable Strength: So that the speedy reducing that small Place was not look'd upon as a Matter of difficulty. However, lest those Forces which had reliev'd *Taunton*, should be able to disturb the Work of *Weymouth*, and for the sooner expediting the Business there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Sussex* and *Kent* were not ready for him, was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought both the Work of *Weymouth* and *Taunton* would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*, whose Right was to Command in those Counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being sent down by the King to Compose the Disorders there, upon the Relief of *Taunton* was by Special Order recall'd to *Bristol*, lest there might be any Dispute of Command between him and the Lord *Goring*; the one being General of the Ordinance, the other General of the Horse; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewise Field-Marshal of the West, in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commission to Command.

Shortly after the Lord *Goring's* Arrival about *Weymouth* with his full Strength of Horse, Foot, Dragoons, and Artillery, consisting of above Three Thousand Horse, and Fifteen Hundred Foot, besides what he found in those Parts, that Place of so vast Importance was by most Supine Negligence at best, retaken by that Contemptible Number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the Lower Town, and who were look'd upon as Prisoners at Mercy. The Mysteries of which Fatal Loss were never enquired into; but with great plainness, by

by the Vote of the Country, imputed to General *Goring's* Natural Want of Vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole Strength into *Somersetshire*. His Highness, upon his Arrival at *Bristol*, found the West in this Condition; all *Dorsetshire* entirely possessed by the Parliamentarians save only what *Dives* could protect by his small Garrison at *Sherborn*, and the Island of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subsistence: The Garrison of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horse and Dragoons which reliev'd it, commanding a very large Circuit, and disturbing other Parts in *Somersetshire*: *Devonshire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth* at one end, and open to incursions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: The King's Garrisons, in all Three Counties, being stronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finished in any Place, and but begun in some) than in Men, or any Provisions to endure an Enemy; whilst the Lord *Goring's* Forces equally infested the Borders of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Devon*, by unheard of Rapine, without applying themselves to any Enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwall* indeed was entire; but being wholly assign'd to the blocking up of *Plymouth*, yielded no Supply to any other Service, or to the providing its own Garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an Enemy.

Waller and *Cromwell*, march'd together about this time towards the West, and passing through *Wiltshire*, routed and took the whole Regiment of Horse of Colonel *Leg*, the High Sheriff of that Country, and seem'd to intend an Attempt upon General *Goring*; who was so much startled with the Noise, at a great distance, that he drew his Forces so far West of *Taunton*, that *Vandruske* had an Opportunity to retire with that Body of Horse and Dragoons with which he had reliev'd *Taunton*, to his Fellows; whilst the King's Forces repos'd themselves upon the Borders of *Devonshire*. the Lord *Goring* himself, and most of his Principal Officers, taking that Opportunity to refresh at *Exeter*, where they staid Three or Four Days in most

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most Scandalous Disorder, a great Part of his Horse lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the Year, was an ill presage to that People, what they were to expect. But finding that *VValler* made not that haste he apprehended, having borrow'd such Horse and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he return'd again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highness an Account of his Condition. The Prince, being at *Bristol*, found scarce one Thing provided, or one Promise complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*, but on the contrary, every Day Complaints against this and that Governour of Garrisons, for the Riots and Insolences of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers; and yet the Prince endeavour'd to give them all Encouragement, told them
 ' that he was very sensible of all those disorders,
 ' of which they complain'd, and would redress
 ' them as soon as they should discern it to be in
 ' his Power: That the Forces under the Lord
 ' *Goring* were an Army by themselves, come down
 ' into those Parts, before his Highness; and staid
 ' there for their Protection against the Power
 ' of *VValler*, (which was ready to invade them) and
 ' the Garrison of *Taunton*, which they confessed
 ' infested their whole Country; that he was very
 ' desirous that Army might move Eastward, as soon
 ' as they should put themselves in such a Posture
 ' as might render them secure against their
 ' Enemies; wished them to propose any Expedients
 ' how the Fortifications of the Garrisons might be
 ' finish'd without some extraordinary help; or to
 ' propose the most convenient one, and he would
 ' join with them; and desired them to proceed in
 ' their Levies of Men and Money, in the Ways
 ' agreed on by themselves, and they should find
 ' concurrence and Assistance from him. But notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them for the Advancement of the Publick Service.

By this time, towards the end of March, *VValler*, having advanced with his Horse and Dragoons by *Bath* towards *Bristol*, in hope to have surprized that

that City by some Treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards *Dorsetshire*, and the edge of *Somerset*, adjoining to that Country, where *Cromwell* expected him, the Lord *Goring* having in the mean while fallen into some of *Cromwell's* Quarters about *Dorchester*, and taken some Prisoners and Horses, and disorder'd the rest. Upon a Dispute between themselves, or some other Orders, *Cromwell* retired to join *Fairfax* towards *Reading*; *Waller* staid in those Parts, to intend the Business of the West, but made no haste to Advance, expecting some Supplies of Foot by Sea at *VVeymouth*. So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bristol*, and sent to the Prince to desire 'that Two of his Council might meet him at *Wells* the next Day, to consider what Course was best to be taken: Accordingly the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* the next Day went thither. Where, after long Consideration of the whole State of the West, and of the great Importance of reducing *Taunton*, without which no great Matter could be expected from *Somersetshire*, the Lord *Goring* proposed, and put the Design in Writing under his own Hand, for the whole Method and Manner of his proceeding, 'that he would leave the gross of his Horse, and Two Hundred Foot mounted, in such convenient Place, upon the Skirts of *Dorsetshire* and *Wiltshire*, as might be able to retire to their Body if the Enemy advanced powerfully; and that he would himself, with his Foot, and Cannon, and such Horse as were necessary, attempt the taking, or burning of *Taunton*; and to that purpose desired his Highness to send positive Orders to Sir *Richard Greenvil* to advance, and to direct the Commissioners of *Somerset* to give their Personal Attendance upon that Service; and in the mean time to take Care that sufficient Magazines of Victuals and Provisions were made for the Soldiers: All which was exactly perform'd by his Highness the next Day after he receiv'd the Desires of General *Goring*. But before the Design upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it appear'd by constant Intelligence, that *Waller* was advancing with a great Body of Horse and Dragoons, and some

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some Foot, and therefore the Attempt upon *Taunton* was for the present to be laid aside; and *Goring* very earnestly desired the Prince to Command *Sir Richard Grenvil*, who was now drawn near to *Taunton* with Eight Hundred Horse, and above Two Thousand Foot, besides Pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that so he might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon him; or otherwise, to compel them to Fight, if they staid in those fast Quarters, where they then were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and those Places. The Prince accordingly sent his Commands positively to *Grenvil* 'to advance towards *Goring*, and to obey all such Orders as he should receive from his Lordship. But he as positively sent his Highness word, 'that his Men would not stir a Foot; and that he had promised the Commissioners of *Devon* and *Cornwall* that he would not Advance beyond *Taunton* till *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no Question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good Account of that Place. In the mean time, *Goring*, very successfully, by Night, fell upon *Waller's* Quarters twice in less than a Week, and kill'd and took so Considerable a Number, that it was generally believ'd *Waller* was lessen'd near a Thousand Men by those Rencounters; the Lord *Goring* still declaring, 'that he could neither pursue his Advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the Addition of *Grenvil's* Foot; and he, notwithstanding all Orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing that, if he had an Addition of Six Hundred Men, he would be in the Town within Six Days.

Whilst things stood thus, *Waller*, much weaken'd with these Disasters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back by Night marches, and retired as far as *Salisbury* before *Goring* had Notice of his Motion. Upon which the Prince (with the Privy and Advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Bristol*, and present at the whole Consultation, and the principal Adviser in it) writ, upon the Eleventh

Eleventh of April, *Goring*, being then about *Wells*, that his Opinion was, that the Horse and Dragoons, under his Lordship's Command, should Advance from the Quarters where they then were, much to the Prejudice of that Country, into *Dorsetshire* or *Wiltshire*, or into both of them; and that the Foot and Cannon should march directly towards *Taunton*, according to the Design formerly proposed by his Lordship; and referr'd it to himself whether his Lordship in Person would stay with the Horse, or go with the Foot; and desired to receive his Opinion and Resolution upon the whole; there being nothing proposed to be acted in Two Days. This Letter was sent by Colonel *Windham*, who the next Day return'd with a short fullen Letter from *Goring* to the Prince, that he had, according to his Command, sent the Foot and Cannon to *Taunton*, and the Horse to the other Places; and that since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to *Bath* to intend his Health; where he complain'd privately, that his Forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue *Waller*, and could utterly defeat him; and much inveighed against the Prince's Council, for sending Orders to him so prejudicial to the King's Service; whereas it was only an Opinion, and not Orders: Yet after some Days frolickly spent at *Bath*, he return'd to his former Temper, and waiting on the Prince at *Bristol*, was contented to be told, that he had been more apprehensive of Discourtesies than he had Cause; and so all Misunderstanding seem'd to be fairly made up.

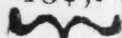
Many other Crosses and Disappointments attended the Prince of *Wales*, and the King's Affairs: For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it must have been, if a small Party of Parliamentarians had not reliev'd it even in the last Article, *Goring* could have had no Pretence to have staid in those Parts, but must immediately have pursued his former Design upon *Sussex*, and those other Counties, for which he had never any Reasonable Foundation, or continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left *Oxford*, and went into *Hampshire*,

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shire, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had in his Jovial Flts, where he was always very unreserv'd, declared with great Resentment, 'that his Father was ill treated by the Queen in *France*, and that he hoped shortly to be in such a Posture that the King should find it Reasonable to use both his Father and himself better. And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberteers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himself had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: And in his first Debauches at *Exeter*, his Brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant General of his Horse, inform'd some Persons of Honour in confidence, 'that *Goring* resolv'd to make himself Lieutenant General to the Prince, or else to be very discontented. This Advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to *Bristol*; and was the first hint that ever they receiv'd that he had affected that Charge, and was not, with the rest of his Behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his Desire, but to do all that was in their Power to prevent it.

The general Business concerning the Four Counties of *Cornwal*, *Dorsetshire*, *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire*, being settled at *Bridgewater*, the Commissioners for *Devon* desired to be heard in what concern'd that particular County; and then inform'd his Highness, *That upon Sir Richard Greenville's first entring upon the Work of Plymouth, and his Assurance under his Hand that he would take the Town before Christmas Day, and that he would forthwith Raise, Arm, and Pay Twelve Hundred Horse, and Six Thousand Foot, they had assign'd him above one half of their whole Contribution, amounting to above Eleven Hundred Pounds a Week; and for the providing Arms and Ammunition, had assign'd him the Arrears of the Contribution due from those Hundreds allotted to him, which amounted to near 6000l; he having likewise the whole Contribution of Cornwal, being above Seven Hundred Pounds weekly; and had receiv'd most Part of the Subscription Money of that County towards the same Service: That he had, from his first entring upon the Charge, quietly enjoy'd those Contributions in Devon, which were duly paid;*

paid; and had receiv'd the greatest Part of the Ar-
 rears assign'd to him for the Provision of Arms and
 Ammunition: Notwithstanding all which, he had ne-
 ver brought above Twenty Barrels of Powder, or any
 Arms, but had receiv'd both the one and the other
 from them out of their Magazines; and had never
 maintain'd or rais'd near half the Number of Men to
 which he was oblig'd, till the VWeek before he was re-
 quired to march to Taunton; when he had called the
 Posse Comitatus, and out of them forced almost the
 whole Number of Foot, which marched with him thither,
 bringing them with him, as far as Exeter, unarm'd,
 and there compell'd the Commissioners to supply him with
 Arms and Ammunition; that having left scarce Two
 Thousand Foot, and Four Hundred Horse, before
 Plymouth, he continued still to receive the whole Con-
 tribution formerly assign'd, when he was to have Twelve
 Hundred Horse, and Six Thousand Foot; and
 would not part with any of it: So that he receiv'd
 more out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Ply-
 mouth (having all Cornwall to himself likewise) than
 was left for the Garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth,
 Barnstable, and Tiverton, and for the finishing those
 Fortifications, victualling the Garrison, providing Arms
 and Ammunition; with which they had before not only
 supplied themselves, but had sent great Quantities to the
 King's Army, to the Lord Goring, and to the Siege of
 Taunton: That he would not suffer them to send any
 Warrants to collect the Letter and Subscription Money,
 to settle the Excise, or meddle with Delinquents Estates
 in the Hundreds assign'd to him for Contribution; and
 had those continual Contests with Sir John Berkley, being
 Colonel General of the County, and the other Governours of
 Garrisons, pretending that he had Power to command
 them, that there was such an Animosity grown between
 them, that they very much apprehended the Danger
 of those Divisions; there having been some Bloodshed
 and Men kill'd, upon their private Contests: And
 therefore besought his Highness, by his Authority, to
 settle the Limits of their several Jurisdictions, in order
 to the Martial Affairs; and likewise to order Sir
 Richard Greenville to receive no more Contribution than
 would suffice for the Maintenance of those Men who
 continued before Plymouth; whereby they could be only



enabled to perform Their Parts of the Association.

This was pressed with so much Earnestness, and Reason, that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commissioners and Sir *Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole Dispute. But, at the same time, and whilst that Matter was in Consideration, Letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the Lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther Westward; and thereupon the Prince himself return'd to *Bristol* having stay'd at *Bridgewater* only Seven Days, and sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepeper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with Instructions to examine all the Complaints, and Allegations of the Commissioners, and to settle the Business of the Contribution; and upon view of the several Commissions of Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, so to agree the Matter of Jurisdiction, that the Publick Service might not be obstructed, wherein they found no small difficulty.

Goring
Joins the
King at
Oxford.

The Prince was no sooner return'd to *Bristol* from *Bridgewater*, which was on the last Day of *April*, than General *Goring* was sent for by the King, to draw his Horse and Dragoons towards *Oxford*, that thereby his Majesty might free himself from *Cromwell*; who with a very strong Party of Horse and Dragoons lay in wait to interrupt his joining with Prince *Rupert* about *Worcester*. How unwelcome soever these Orders were to *Goring*, yet there was no Remedy but he must obey them: And it was hoped that the West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He march'd with that Expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodstock*, and he fell upon a Horse Quarter of *Cromwell's*, and another Party of *Fairfax's* Horse, as they were attempting a Passage over the River of *Isis*, so prosperously, (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceeding Welcome: Prince *Rupert*, who now met with

little Opposition in Council, had throughout the Winter disposed the King to resolve 'to march Northwards, and to fall upon the *Scotch* Army in *Yorkshire*, before *Fairfax* should be able to perfect his new Model to that Degree, as to take the Field, and this Purpose of marching Northward was the more hasten'd, that, in the Way, *Chester* might be reliev'd, which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to *Pontefract*-Castle, before which the *Scotch* Army then was; and if they could Defeat that, the King would be again upon the Matter Master of the North: Which, by the Insolence of the *Scots*, and the Dislike they had of the New Model, was conceiv'd to be better affected than ever. The next Day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and consisted then of Five Thousand Foot, and above Six Thousand Horse.

As for General *Fairfax* he was then about *Newbury*, not in a readiness to march, yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was said his Design was to carry his whole Army to the Relief of *Taunton*, brought almost to Extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great Reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the Interest of the West. Upon this Prospect it was thought reasonable, and accordingly propos'd, 'that the King 'himself would march with his Army into the West, 'and thereby not only prevent the Relief of *Taunton*, 'but compel *Fairfax* to fight before he should be able 'to Join *Cromwell*, who had not yet gather'd his 'Troops together. This was the concurrent Advice of the whole Council with which the King used to consult, Prince *Rupert* only excepted, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who commanded the Northern Horse; which were impatient to be in their own Country. Now the very contrary Affections towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Goring*, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man of-a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to have most Credit with the King in all Debates, and was Jealous, that, by his Friendship

1645. with the Lord *Digby*, he would quickly get such an Interest with his Majesty, that his own Credit would be much Eclipsed. Hereupon he did no less desire that *Goring* should again return into the West, than *Goring* did, not to remain where Prince *Rupert* commanded. This produced a great Confidence and Friendship between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his Highness abhor'd nothing more than that *Goring* should be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* said all of the Council, which he believ'd would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could to lessen the Credit and Authority of the Council. The King was desired to receive the Information and State of the West from *Goring*; who upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too easily believ'd. He inform'd the King with all imaginable Confidence, that if, by the positive Command of the Prince, contrary to his Opinion and Advice, his Forces had not been taken from him, and applied to the Siege of *Taunton*, he had doubtless totally ruined all *Waller's* Forces, and prevented the coming of those Parties who had given his Majesty so much trouble at *Oxford*: That he had been always used, upon his resort to the Prince, with great Disrespect, being not call'd into the Council, but put to an Attendance without, amongst inferior Suiters; and then told many particular Passages at *Bridgewater*, of which he rais'd Advantage to himself upon the Prejudice he begot to others.

So that he got so much Credit, that the King, by his Letter of the Tenth of May to the Prince, directed, that General *Goring* should be admitted into all Consultations and Debates, and be advis'd with, as if he were one of the establish'd Council; that Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power to give Commissions in that Army, all Commissions to be granted should pass by General *Goring*; and that none should be granted by the Prince, in his own Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of Relation meerly to the Association: That the Council

' Council should contribute their Opinions and
 ' Advices to General *Goring*; but that his High-
 ' ness should carefully forbear to give unto the
 ' Lord *Goring* any positive or binding Orders:
 With these triumphant Orders he return'd into the
 West, where we shall now leave him, and wait
 upon the King in his unfortunate march. He ad-
 vanced first to *Evesham*, and in his Way drew out
 his Garrison from *Cambden-House*, which had
 brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the
 enriching the Licentious Governour thereof; who
 exercised an illimited Tyranny over the whole
 Country, and took his leave of it in wantonly
 burning the Noble Structure, where he had too
 long inhabited, and which not many Years before
 had cost above Thirty Thousand Pounds the building.
 Within few Days after the King had left *Evesham*
 it was surprized by the Enemy, or rather storm'd
 and taken for want of Men to defend the Works,
 and the Governor, and all the little Garrison
 made Prisoners. The Loss of this Place was an ill
 Omen to the King the succeeding Summer; and, up-
 on the Matter, cut off all intercourse between *Wor-*
cester and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repair'd by the
 taking of *Harekessly-House* in *Worcestershire*; which
 the Parliamentarians had fortified, and made strong,
 and which the King's Army took in Two Days,
 and therein the Governor, and One Hundred and
 Twenty Prisoners, who served to redeem those
 who were lost in *Evesham*. And so by easie and
 slow marches the Army prosecuted their Way to-
 wards *Chester*. But in *Staffordshire*, the Lord *Byron*,
 who was Governor of *Chester*, met the King, and
 inform'd him, 'that the Enemy upon the Noise of
 his Majesty's advance were drawn off; and so
 'there was no more to be done, but to prosecute
 the Northern Design; which was now intended,
 and the Army upon its march accordingly, when
 Intelligence was brought, *Fairfax* had sent a
 strong Party to relieve *Taunton* and was himself
 with his Army sate down before *Oxford*. Up-
 on which it was concluded, 'that the best Way
 to draw him from thence, would be to fall up-
 on some Place possessed by the Parliament.

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*Goring sent
back into
the West.*

*King Marches
towards
the North.*

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The King
takes Lei-
cester by
Storm.

They had no Town so considerable near the Place where the King then was as *Leicester*; in which there was a good Garrison, under the Command of Sir *Robert Fye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleased with any Brisk Attempt, chearfully entertain'd the first Motion, and sent *Langdale* forthwith to surround it (which was of great Extent) with his Horse; and the next Day, being the last of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince having taken a view of it, commanded a Battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone Wall, on the South Side of the Place; which, by his own continued Presence, was finished with Admirable Diligence: Which done, he sent a Summons to the Governor; who return'd not such an Answer as was required. Thereupon, the Battery began to play; and in the space of Four Hours made such a Breach, that it was thought advisable the same Night to make a general Assault with the whole Army in several Places, but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great Courage and Resolution, insomuch that the King's Forces were twice repulsed with great Loss and Slaughter, and were even ready to draw off in Despair: When another Party, on the other Side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, seconded by a Body of Horse that came but that Day from *Newark*, and putting themselves on Foot, advanced with their Swords and Pistols, with the other, enter'd the Town, and made Way for their Fellows to follow them: So that by the break of Day, the Assault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army enter'd the Line. Then the Governor, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of Twelve Hundred, threw down their Arms, and became Prisoners of War, whilst the Conquerors pursued their Advantage with the usual Licence of Rapine and Plunder, and miserably Sacked the whole Town, without any Distinction of Persons, or Places; Churches and Hospitals, as well as other Houses, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier. Though the Place was well won, because so little Time had been spent

spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable Loss on the King's Side; there being near Two Hundred Soldiers Dead upon the Places of Assault with very many Officers; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name; besides many more Wounded and Maimed.

The taking of *Leicester* gave the King's Army great Reputation, and made a wonderful impression of Terrour upon the Hearts of those at *Westminster*; who now revolv'd the Conditions which were offer'd at *Uxbridge*, which they had refused. They began to expose their new Model, and to Reproach those who had perswaded them 'so ingratelully to throw off their Old General, who 'was ready to foment all their Discontents. It 'was not above Twenty Days that the King's 'Army had been in the Field, and in that short 'Time it had reduced Two strong Garrisons of 'theirs, without giving his Soldiers any Conditions, viz. *Hawkesly-House* in *Worcestershire*, and the 'Town of *Leicester*; whilst their new General 'Fairfax had only faced *Oxford* at a distance, to 'try whether the Ladies would prevail for the 'giving up the Town, to pacifie their Fears; and 'had attempted to take a poor House that lay 'near *Borstall-House*, and had been beaten from 'thence with considerable Loss, and had drawn 'off from both, very little to his Honour. These Discourses were so publick in the City, and had so much Credit in Both Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desired Peace, and exercised their Thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or set a new one on Foot, when the Evil Genius of the Kingdom in a Moment shifted the whole Scene.

Leicester was a Post where the King might, with all possible Convenience and Honour, have sat still, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales* with a Body of Three Thousand Horse and Foot: And he had Reason to expect that the Lord *Goring* would be very shortly with him with his Horse; for he was not departed from the King above

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Four or Five Days, with those Orders which are mention'd before (and with which he was so well pleas'd) but that the King saw cause to repent his Separation, and sent other Orders to recal him as soon as was possible. But the King's Fate, and the Natural Unsteadiness and Irresolution of those about him, hurried him into Counsels very disagreeable to the Posture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which some Men pretended to have receiv'd from thence was, 'that it was in Distress. The Duke of *York* remain'd there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who sent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there; and if all these should fall into the Enemy's Hands, *Leicester* would appear a very poor R'compence. These Particulars being unskillfully, yet warmly, press'd by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolv'd to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within Five Days after the taking of *Leicester*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; upon which all the Northern Horse, who had promis'd themselves, and were promis'd by the King, that they should go into their own Country, were so displeas'd, that they were with great difficulty restrain'd from Disbanding; and though they were at last prevail'd with to march, were not enough recover'd to be depend'd upon in any sudden Action. Notwithstanding all this the March was continued, and next Day, at *Harborough*, Intelligence came 'that *Fairfax* 'was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having ever approached so near it as to discharge One Piece 'of Cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off 'from *Borstaff*-House with the Loss of Officers, 'as well as Soldiers; and that he was march'd 'with his whole Army to *Buckingham*. This kindled a greater Appetite to find him out than there was before, so the Army marched to *Daintry* in *Northamptonshire*; where for want of knowing where the Enemy was or what he intended to do, the King remain'd in a quiet posture the space of Five Days.

But

But upon the Thirteenth of June the King receiv'd Intelligence that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton* with a strong Army, much superior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon his Majesty retired the next Day to *Harborough*; and meant to have gone back to *Leicester*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and stand upon his Defence, till the other Forces which he expected could come up to him. But that very Night an Alarm was brought to *Harborough* that *Fairfax* himself was quarter'd within Six Miles. A Council was presently call'd, the former Resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and one as quickly taken, 'to fight; and so in the Morning early, on the Fourteenth of June, all the Army was drawn up upon a rising Ground of very great Advantage, about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was at their Back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Astly*, consisting of about Two Thousand and Five Hundred Men; the right Wing of Horse being about Two Thousand was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing consisting of all the Northern Horse, with those from *Newark*, which did not amount to Sixteen Hundred, was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reserve, were the King's Life-Guard, commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey* and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment of Foot, with the King's Horse-Guards, commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that Day about Five Hundred Horse.

The Army thus disposed in good Order, made a stand on that Ground to expect the Enemy. But about Eight in the Morning it begun to be doubted whether the Intelligence they had receiv'd of the Enemy was True. Upon which the Scoutmaster was sent to make farther discovery, who return'd and averr'd, 'that he had been Three or Four Miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear any thing of them: Presently a Report was raised in the Army, that the Enemy was retired. Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horse and Musqueteers, both to discover and engage them, the Army remaining still in the same Place and Posture

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Posture they had been in. His Highness had not march'd above a Mile when he receiv'd certain Intelligence of their Advance, and in a short Time after he saw the Van of their Army, but it seems not so distinctly but that he conceiv'd they were retiring. Whereupon he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back, ' that the Army should march up to him ; and the Messenger who brought the Order said, ' that the Prince desired they should make haste. Hereupon the Advantageous Ground was quitted, and the Excellent Order they were in, and an Advance made towards the Enemy as well as might be. By that Time they had march'd about a Mile and a half the Horse of the Enemy was discern'd to stand upon a high Ground about *Naseby* ; whence seeing the manner of the King's march in a full Campaign they had Leisure and Opportunity to Place themselves with all the Advantages they could desire. The Prince's Natural Heat and Impatience could never endure an Enemy long in his view ; nor let him believe that they had the Courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turn'd, or the Ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight : So that Courage was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct fail'd so much.

*The Battle
of Naseby.*

It was Ten of the Clock when the Battle begun: The first Charge was given by Prince *Rupert* ; who with his own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice's* Troop, perform'd it with his usual Vigour ; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was Master of Six Pieces of the Parliament's best Cannon. The Lord *Astley*, with his Foot, advanced upon their Foot ; who discharged their Cannon at them, but over-shot them, and so did their Musqueteers too. For the Foot on either Side hardly saw each other till they were within Carabine shot, and so only gave One Volley ; the King's Foot, according to their usual Custom, falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Musquets, with which they did Considerable Execution, and put the Enemy into great Disorder and Confusion. The Right Wing of the Horse and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced,

vanced, the left Wing, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* in Five Bodies, advanced with equal Resolution, and was encounter'd by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the Right Wing of the Parliament's Horse, with Seven Bodies greater and more numerous than either of the other, and had the Advantage of the Ground; yet they did their Duty, as well as the Place and other Circumstances would enable them to do. But being flanked on both Sides by the Enemies Horse, and pressed hard before they could get to the Top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, close, and in good order, follow'd them that they might not rally again, which they never thought of doing, and the rest Charged the King's Foot, who had till then so much the Advantage over theirs; whilst Prince *Rupert* with the Right Wing pursued those Horse, which he had broken and defeated.

The King's Reserve of Horse, which was his own Guards, with himself at the Head of them, were ready to Charge those Horse who pursued his left Wing, when on a sudden such a Pannick Fear seized upon them, that they all run near a Quarter of a Mile without stopping; which happen'd upon an extraordinary Accident, for the Earl of *Carnarworth*, who rode next to the King, on a sudden laid his Hand on the Bridle of his Horse and swearing Two or Three full-mouthed *Scotch* Oaths, 'will you go upon your Death in an instant? And before his Majesty understood what he would have, turn'd his Horse round; upon which a Word run through the Troops, 'that they should march to the Right Hand; which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and assisting their own Men: Upon this they all turn'd their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to shift for himself. By this Time Prince *Rupert* was return'd with a good Body of those Horse which had attended him in his Charge on the Right Wing; but they could never be brought to rally themselves again in Order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was observ'd all along, in the Discipline of the King's Troops, and of those which marched under the Command of *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, (for it was only

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only under them, and had never been remarkable under *Essex* or *Waller*) that though the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed those they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a Second Charge again the same Day; which was the Reason that they had not an entire Victory at *Edgehill*: Whereas the others Troops, if they prevail'd, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good Order till they receiv'd new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do being not able to rally their broken Troops, his Majesty was compell'd to quit the Field, and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foot, Cannon and Baggage; amongst which was his own Cabinet, where his most Secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and him; which afterwards were publish'd in Print: The King Loss was irreparable in this Battle, for besides that there fell above an Hundred and Fifty Officers and Gentlemen of Prima Quality upon the Spot, most of his Foot were taken Prisoners, with all his Cannon, 8000 Arms, and other Rich Booty.

The King
retires to
Bewdley,
thence
to Here-
ford.

The King, and Prince *Rupert*, with the Broken Troops, marched by *Leicester* that Night to *Ashby de la Zouch*; and the next Day to *Lichfield*; and continued Two Days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worcestershire*; where they rested One Day, and went to *Hereford*, with some disjointed Imagination, that they might with those Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of *South Wales*, and was indeed upon his march with a Body of Two Thousand Horse and Foot, be able to have raised a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any form'd Counsel was agreed upon what the King should do next, left the King, and made haste to *Bristol*, that he might put that Place into a Condition to resist a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; nothing, says my Lord *Cl*—— can be here more wonder'd at, than that the King should amuse himself about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the Oppressions of his own Troops, and the Licence of those Governours whom he had put over them; and not have

have immediately repaired into the West, where he had an Army already form'd, and a People generally well devoted to his Service, whither all his Broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have transported themselves before *Fairfax* could have given them any Interruption; who had somewhat to do before he could bend his Course that Way.

The Sickness which infested *Bristol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: And no Place was thought so convenient for his Residence as *Barnstable* in *Devonshire*; and as his Highness was upon his Way thither he receiv'd the Orders which *Goring*, who was now return'd, had procured from the King, which he carefully transmitted to his Highness as soon as he arriv'd. At the same Time the Lord *Colepepper* receiv'd another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated after the former Orders, by which he signified 'the King's express Pleasure that the Lord *Goring* should Command those Forces in Chief, that Sir *Richard Greenvil* should be Major General of the whole Army, that Sir *John Berkley*, as Colonel General of *Devon*, should intend the Work before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would send his Ratification of all these; that the Lord *Hopton* should attend his Charge in the Army as General of the Artillery. To which purpose his Majesty with his own Hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*, and that the Prince should not be in the Army, but keep his Residence in a safe Garrison; and there, by the Advice of his Council, manage and improve the Business of the West, and provide Reserves and Reinforcements for the Army: With an Intimation, that Mr. *Smith's* House, near *Bristol*, would be a convenient Place for his Residence.

The Prince and Council were much amazed at these Orders and Resolutions, so different from those which had been made before; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the State and Condition of those Parts, and their Advice thereupon, well knowing that if it were believ'd in the Country, that the Prince's Authority was in the least man-

ner

*The Affairs
of the West.*

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ner superceded or diminished, besides other Inconveniences, the hopeful Levies, upon the Agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a Moment determined; the Gentlemen who were to raise Regiments, professing, 'that they would receive no Commissions 'but from his Highness. But whatever Care they used to conceal the Matters of those Letters, and to hasten away a Dispatch to the King, concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much Care to publish them; and from that Time expressed all possible Contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within Three Days there was another Change; for the Lord *Digby*, by his Letters to the Lords of the Council of the Nineteenth of *May*, signified 'his Majesty's Pleasure, that 'Goring should march forthwith towards *Northamptonshire* with all the Forces that could be spared; 'and that the Prince himself should stay at *Dunstar-Castle* and encourage the new Levies: At the same Time a Letter to the Lord *Hopton* from the King order'd him 'to command the Forces under the Prince.

Goring, upon his return from the King, found *Taunton* reliev'd by a strong Party of Two Thousand Horse, and Three Thousand Foot, which arriv'd in the very Article of reducing the Town, and after their Line was enter'd, and a Third Part of the Town was burn'd. The Besiegers drew however off without any Loss; and that Party that reliev'd them having done their Work, and left some of their Foot in the Town, made what haste they could, to make their Retreat Eastward, when *Goring* fell so opportunely upon their Quarters, that he did them great Mischief, and believ'd that in that disorder he had so shut them up between narrow Passes, that they could neither retire to *Taunton*, nor march Eastward: But by the extreme ill disposing of his Parties, and for want of particular Orders, his Two Parties sent out several Ways to fall upon the Enemy, at *Petherton-Bridge*, the one commanded by Colonel *Thornhill*, the other by Sir *William Courtney*, fell foul on each other, to the Loss of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before

fore they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more Loss got into and about Taunton; notwithstanding which Goring was, or seem'd, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the Place would be sooner reduced by the Relief that had been put into it, and that in few Days they would be at his Mercy.

This was before the End of May; when upon the Confidence of speedily dispatching that Work, all possible and effectual Care was taken to supply him with Provisions, and to send all the new levied Men, and his Highness's own Guards, thither. Inasmuch as he had within few Days a Body of Five Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse, which he Quarter'd at the most convenient Places, rather for Ease than Duty, having publish'd Orders under pretence of preserving the Country from Plunder, and with a Promise of most exemplary Discipline, 'that Six-pence a Day should be collect-
'ed for the Payment of each Trooper; to which he got the Commissioners Consent; by virtue where-
of he raised great Sums of Money, without the least Abatement of the former Disorders: Yet he proceeded with such Popular Circumstances, send-
ing most Specious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; sometimes desiring that Solemn Prayers might be said in all Churches for him; and to desire God to Bless some Attempt he had
'then in Hand; always using extreme Courtship
'to the Commissioners (whom he barbed in-
form'd, 'that he was to have, or rather that he
'had, the Absolute Command of the West under the
'Prince, without reference to his Council) that with his Promises, Proclamations, and Courtship, together with laughing at those Persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very Popular Consideration; till they found that he Promised and published Orders to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seem'd with them to laugh at other Men, he made their Properties only to his own Ends.

Here somewhat must be said of the Club-men; who began now to rise, in great Numbers in several

veral Parts of the Country, and a Petition was deliver'd to the Prince at *Wells* June 2, which had been agreed upon that Day at *Marshals Elme*, where there had then assembled Five or Six Thousand Men, most in Arms, and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next Day at *Bridgewater* for an Answer. It was evident, though the Ground for the Rising was the intolerable Oppression, Rapine and Violence exercised by *Goring's* Horse, that in Truth they receiv'd Encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country; some of them thinking it would be a good Expedient to necessitate a Reformation of the Army, others believing it would be a profitable Rising for the King, and would grow into the Matter of the first Association, One and All. Therefore some Principal Agents of Sir *John Stawel's* were very active in those Meetings, and he himself was very solicitous that a very Gracious Answer might be return'd to their Petition, which was follow'd by some Farms, and others of the Clergy, both which had good Reputations of Affection and Integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expressed a great Sense of the Oppressions they suffer'd by the Disorder of the Army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which End he writ many earnest Letters to *Goring*. But his Highness told them, 'that this
' unwarrantable Course of assembling together, and
' being their own Judges, would prove very pernicious: For though many of them might mean
' well, yet some active Ministers would mingle
' with them on the behalf of the Rebels, and having
' once brought them to a kind of Neutrality, and
' Unconcernedness for the King, would in a Moment
' be able against all their good Wishes to apply them
' against him; and therefore strictly inhibited them to
' meet any more in that manner, except they first
' listed themselves in Regiments, and chose Gentlemen of the Country to command them; to whom his Highness offer'd to grant Commissions to that Purpose.

This Answer seem'd to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were perswaded by some Gentlemen not to submit

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it; and so they continued their Meetings; many Inferiour Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and living amongst them, and improving their Discontents. When the Prince went to *Barnstable*, he gave *Goring* Advertisements of the Danger that might arise out of the Licence that People took to themselves; and therefore advised him, as on the one Hand to suppress and reform the crying Disorders of the Army by good Discipline, and Severity upon Enormous Transgressors; so on the other seasonably to discountenance and punish those Assemblies of Clubmen; which would otherwise in Time prove as dangerous to him as any other Strength of the Rebels. But from what Methods 'tis not well known; he did use all possible Compliance with them, and would not suffer any Force to be used against them; so that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept Provisions from the Army and the Garrisons; and when he moved from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of *Fairfax*, they kill'd many of his Soldiers; and did him more Mischief than all the Power of the Enemy.

These Clubmen afterwards would have sent a Petition to the Parliament, and had like to have proved troublesome to their Forces, but *Cromwell* so attacked and dispersed them, about the beginning of *August*, that we heard no more of them.

About the beginning of *July* *Sir Thomas Fairfax* enter'd into *Somersetshire*; so that *Goring* found it convenient to draw off from *Taunton*, and seem'd to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lampport*, very advantageously for Defence, having a Body of Foot very little Inferior to the Enemy, although by great Negligence he had suffer'd his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton* for want of Provisions and Countenance, when the Horse enjoy'd Plenty to Excess and Riot. He had been there very few Days when the Enemy at Noon Day fell into his Quarter, upon a Party of Horse of above a Thousand, commanded by Lieutenant General *Porter*; who were so surprized, that though they were in a Bottom, and could not but discern the Enemy coming down the Hill

Fairfax with his Army enters Somersetshire.

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half a Mile at the least, yet the Enemy was upon them before the Men could get upon their Horses, they being then feeding in a Meadow; so that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and the next Day, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Passes, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Parliaments Horse and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army, routed it, took Two Pieces of Cannon, and pursued Goring's Men through *Lamport* and drove them to the Walls of *Bridgewater*, whither Goring in great Disorder retired; and spending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon, Ammunition and Carriages, and such Soldiers as were desired, in equal Disorder the next Day he retired into *Devonshire*; the Clubmen and Country People infesting his march, and knocking all Stragglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the Head. Upon that Rout, which was no less than a Defeat of the whole Army, the Lord Goring retired to *Barnstable*; from whence (the Prince being gone some Days before to *Launceston* in *Cornwal*,) he writ to the Lord Digby, 'that there was so great a Terror and Distraction among his Men, that he was confident at that present they could not be brought to fight against half their Number. Tho' upon modest Computation his Force was little inferior to that of *Fairfax* his Army. *Fairfax* did not pursue them, but intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*. In the mean Time Goring spent his Time at *Barnstable*, and the adjacent Parts, his Army Quartering at *Torrington* and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horse committing such intolerable Insolences and Disorders, as alienated the Hearts of those who were best affected to the King's Service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the Enemy, he suffer'd all who had a Mind to depart; insomuch as he writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, on the 27th of *July*, 'that he had not above Thirteen Hundred Foot left. When he was at *Barnstable* he gave himself his usual Licence of Drinking; and then inveighing against the Prince's Council, said 'he would justify that they had been the cause of the Loss of the West; inveighing likewise in an unpardonable

pardonable Dialect against the Person of the King, and discourfing much of the Revenge he would take upon thofe who had affronted him: And in this manner he entertain'd himfelf to the end of July, writing Letters of Difcontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one Day complaining for want of Money and defiring the Prince to Supply that want; another Day defiring, 'that all ftagling Soldiers might be fent out of *Cornwal*, and drawn from the Garifons, that he might advance upon the Enemy; and the next Day propofing, 'that all the Foot might be put into Garrifons, for that they could not be fit for the Field; fo that before an Answer could be fent to his laft Letter, another commonly arriv'd of a different Temper. Sir *Richard Greenvil* was as troublefome and inconvenient as *Goring* was to his Highnefs and his Council; but we cannot dwell upon the Circumftances of thefe Private Humours and Refentments.

We left the King at *Hereford*, not refolv'd what Courfe to fteer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Bristol*, from whence he had made a fhort Vifit to the Prince at *Barnftable*, to give him an Account of the ill Pofture he had left the King in, and from whence he went to *Goring* to confult with him: And it was exceedingly wonder'd at, that when he faw in what Condition he was, and the Number of his Horfe and Foot, he did not then haften Advice to the King for his fpeedy repair thither; but his chief Care was to fecure *Bristol*.

The King quickly left *Hereford*, and went to *The King* meet the Commissioners for South *Wales* at *Abergave- goes to* *veny*, in *Monmouthfhire*. They made as large and ample Professions as ever, and feem'd to believe that they fhould be able, in a very fhort time, to raife a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers fhould be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majefty went to *Ragland* Caftle, a Houfe of the Marquis of *Worcefter*, which was well Fortify'd, and Garrifon'd by him, who remain'd then in it. There he refolv'd to ftay, till he fhould fee the Effect of the Commissioners mighty Promifes. But he found in a fhort time, that, either by the continued Succelfes of

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the Parliament Arms in all Places, the particular Information whereof was every Day brought to them by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Glocester*, or by the renew'd Troubles, which the presence of their Governour General *Gerrard* gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, a Passionate and Unskilful Manager of the Affections of the People; as having govern'd them with extraordinary Rigour, and with as little Courtesie and Civility toward the Gentry, as towards the Common People) there was little probability of raising an Army in those Parts, where all Men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King staid at *Ragland* till the News came that *Fairfax*, after he had taken *Leicester* was march'd into the West, and had defeated *Goring's* Troops at *Lampport*; and at the same time, that the *Scotch* Army was upon its march towards *Worcester*, having taken a little Garrison that lay between *Hereford* and *Worcester* by Storm, and put all within it to the Sword. And Prince *Rupert* sent for all those Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and Part of those which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to supply the Garrison of *Bristol*: So that the King seem'd now to have nothing in his Choice, but to transport himself over the *Severn* to *Bristol*, and thence to have repair'd to his Army in the West; which was so fully resolv'd, that he went to the Water Side near *Chepstow*, where Vessels were ready to Transport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* met him; but the Counsel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was inform'd that *Bridgewater* was lost.

Multitudes of People were now Confident that if a Treaty were set on Foot a Peace would quickly ensue; and the Commissioners of all Counties, which were some of the best Gentlemen, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common People to his Service, were so fully of this Opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this Judgment, and to contrive some Way how it might be brought to pass. This Temper spread it self so universally, that

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it reach'd to Prince Rupert himself; who writ his Advice to that Purpose to the Duke of Richmond, to be presented to the King; who took that Occasion to write the ensuing Letter to the Prince, with his own Hand.

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From Cardiff, in the beginning of the Month of August, 1645.

Nephew,

TH I S is occasion'd by a Letter of yours, that the Duke of Richmond shew'd me Yesternight. And first, I assure you I have been, and ever will be, very careful to advertise you of my Resolutions, as soon as they are taken; and if I enjoind Silence to that which was no Secret, it was not my Fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so now. As for the Opinion of my Business, and your Council thereupon, if I had any other Quarrel but the Defence of my Religion, Crown, and Friends, you had full Reason for your Advice. For I confess, that speaking either as to meer Soldier, or Statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my Ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels to prosper, or his Cause to be overthrown: And whatsoever Personal Punishment it shall please him to inflict upon me, must not make me Repine, much less to give over this Quarrel; which, by the Grace of God, I am resolv'd against, whatsoever it cost me; for I know my Obligations to be both in Conscience and Honour, neither to abandon God's Cause, injure my Successors, nor forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter my self with Expectation of good Success, more than this, to end my Days with Honour, and a good Conscience; which obliges me to continue my Endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge his own Cause. Though I must avow to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good Cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it as the Violence of insulting Rebels can make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated my Case unto you, and plainly told you my positive Resolutions, which, by the Grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after Treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I will

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not go less than what was offer'd in my Name at Uxbridge; confessing that it were as great a Miracle that they should agree to so much Reason, as that I should be, within a Month, in the same Condition that I was immediately before the Battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter our selves with these Conceits; and, believe me, the very Imagination that you are Desirous of a Treaty will lose me so much the sooner. Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your Discourse according to my Resolutions and Judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you, they shall not Cheat me, but it is possible they may Cozen themselves: For be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish Rebels, never trusting to that kind of People (of what Nature soever) more than I see by their Actions; and I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch as I am sure will please you, and all honest Men; a Copy whereof by the next Opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor my self, to the trouble of this Letter, had I not a great Estimation of you, a full Confidence of your Friendship to

Yours, &c.

When the King came to Cardiff, he was entertain'd with the News, that the Scotch Army was set down before Hereford; and that if it were not reliev'd within a Month it must fall into their Hands. To provide for this, there could be no better Way found out than to direct the Sheriffs of those Welsh Counties to Summon their *Posse Comitatus*, whereby the King was perswaded to hope, that there would be Men enough to wait upon him in that Expedition; who, with the Horse he had, would have been equal to any Attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discover'd that this Expedient had rais'd an unruly Spirit, that could not easily be suppress'd again; for the Discontented Gentlemen of those Counties put the People in mind of the Injuries they had receiv'd from General Gerrard, and the intolerable Exactions they lay under, would undoubtedly be increased, if he continued in that Government. So that instead of providing Men to march with the King, they provided a long List of Grievances; from

from all which they desired to be reliev'd before they would apply themselves towards the Relief of Hereford. And all this was so closely urged, that a Body of no less than Four Thousand Men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many Days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compell'd to give them Satisfaction in the Particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of General Gerrard from having any Command over them; and that Charge was presently conferr'd upon the Lord Astley, the Major General of the Army, who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conform'd themselves as much to his Directions, as from the Diffraction of the Time, and the continual ill Successes, could be expected by him.

When the King came first to Ragland, he had sent an Express to the Prince, by which he wished, that the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend him. The Chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the Gout, Colepepper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, and found his Majesty at Cardiff, and waited on him to Brecknock; from whence he was again dispatched with this Letter to the Prince.

Breckonck August 5 1645.

Charles,

I is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper this Morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my Hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find your self in apparent Danger of falling into the Rebels Hands, that you convey your self into France, and there to be under your Mother's Care; who is to have the absolute full Power of your Education in all Things, except Religion; and in that not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the Care of your Tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his Place, in time of his necessitated Absence. And for the Performances of this, I command you to require the Assistance and Obedience of all your Council; and, by their Advice, the Service of

The King's Letter to the Prince of Wales.

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Your loving Father, Charles R.

Upon the receipt and perusal of this Letter, the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, after Two or Three Sad Debates between themselves, agreed upon a Letter to be prepared in Cipher, presenting their Reasons, and what they had been inform'd concerning *France*; and therefore offer'd it to his Majesty, whether he would not leave the Choice of the Place to them, or Nominate some other, against which so many Exceptions might not be made; and proposed *Ireland*, (if the Peace were made there) or *Scotland*, if the Marquis of *Montrose* was as Victorious as he was reported to be; withal assuring his Majesty, that, in Case of Danger, they would run any Hazard, or into any Country, before the Prince should fall into the Hands of the Rebels. This Letter after it was communicated with the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forthwith sent by an Express.

Towards the end of *August*, the Lord *Goring*, after he had, in all his Secret Discourses, and in the Hours of his Jollity, spoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miscarriages, sent the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceston* to his Highness, with certain Demands, as he call'd them, on his behalf; but with Direction, that before he presented them to the Prince, he should Communicate them to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by them in what manner to present them. He required, (1.) To have a Commission to be Lieutenant General of all the West, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garrisons as well as the Army, and to be Sworn of the Council as soon as might be. (2.) That all Commissions to Officers of the Army, when his Highness was present, be given by the Prince; but that his Highness

ness should Sign none but such as he should prepare for him. (3.) That in the Prince's Absence he should Sign and Grant all Commissions ; and that if any Governments of Towns should fall vacant, he might have the Absolute Recommendation of those that were to succeed, or, at least, a Negative Voice. (4.) That all Designs of Consequence should be debated in the Prince's Presence, by the Prince's Council, and such Officers of the Army as he should chuse to assist at it. (5.) That the Number of the Prince's Guards should be limited ; and many other Particulars, which seem'd so inconsiderable, and unfit to be publickly urg'd, that the Lord *Cotepepper* perswaded the Lord *Wentworth* to suspend the presenting them ; the rather (as he said) ' because the Chancellor was then absent (being sent by his Highness to *Pendennis*-Castle, under pretence of giving some Direction in the Matter of the Customs, but intruth to take Care that the Frigate provided for the Prince's Transportation might be in readiness, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on Board when the Occasion should require) ' and likewise, because his Highness intended to be shortly at *Exeter*, where the Lord *Goring* being present, might better consider and ' debate his own Business ; to the which the Lord *Wentworth* consented.

For the Commissioners of *Devon* had besought his Highness to interpose his Authority, in the regulating and disposing the Army to march towards the Relief of *Bristol* ; declaring, ' as the Posture of ' it then was, that both that County, and Garrisons, ' must in a short time be as much undone, and lost ' by them, as by the Invasion of the Enemy ; ' that all the Foot subsisted by and liv'd upon the ' Magazines of the Garrisons, and the Horse possessed the other Part of the Country to themselves ; ' and would neither suffer Provisions to be brought ' to the Markets for the replenishing their Stores, ' nor warrants to be executed for any Payments ; ' pretending they were to defend their own Quarters ; whilst themselves levied what Moneys they pleased, and committed all Sorts of Insolencies and Outrages.

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A Conference between Goring and One of the Prince's Council.

What with Goring, Greenvil, and other ill Spirits all Things were in great Disorder in these Parts: But shortly after the Prince's coming to Exeter, Goring being not then well, desired that he might have a free Conference with One of the Council in private, in which he professed he would discover his Heart, and whatever had stuck with him. When they were by themselves he began with the Discourse of Unkindness he had apprehended from the Council, and from that Person in Particular but confessed he had been deceiv'd and abused by wrong Information: That he was now very Sensible of the Damage that had befallen the Publick by those private Jealousies and Mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concern'd the King's Service, in which he could not receive a better Encouragement than by an Assurance of that Person's Friendship. From this, he discoursed at large, his Apprehensions of his Brother Porter, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with very great Freedom in many particular Instances; and concluded, that he resolv'd to quit himself of him; and after Two Hours spent in those Discourses and in somewhat that concern'd his Father, in which he said he was to receive this Person's Advice by his Father's Direction, (it being about the Government of Pendennis) as if he had said all he meant to say, he ask'd the other negligently what he thought of the Demands he had sent by the Lord Wentworth? Protesting he had no Private Thoughts, but only an Eye to the Publick Service; towards the doing whereof, as the Exigency of Affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified. The other told him, 'that whatever he thought of them would not signifie much, being but a single Voice in Council; by the concurrent Advice whereof, he presumed the Prince would govern himself. However, if he would have him tell him his Opinion as a Friend, he would shew himself so ill a Courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which except he reform'd him in his Judgment, he should declare where it should be propos'd; and he believ'd it would be the Opinion of most of the Lords, if it were not his. Thereupon he told him very freely and plainly, that he thought his Demands not fit for the Prince to grant,

from 1600, to the Treaty of Nimeguen.

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grant, nor seasonable for him to ask, his Authority being the same as to the Publick, all his Orders being obeyed, and the Prince giving him the same Assistance as if he were his Lieutenant General: That the Prince had not hitherto interposed his Authority in the governing that Army; and therefore that he conceived it unseasonable at that time for his Highness to interest himself in the Command thereof, which he should do by making him Lieutenant General: That the King having directed the Prince to make the Lord Hopton his Lieutenant General, it would not become them to advise the Prince to alter that Designation, without receiving his Majesty's Command: Therefore he advised him, since the Alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably beget much Trouble, that he would defer the pressing it, till the King's Affairs should be in a better Posture.

Such Complaints, Animosities and Irresolutions, gave the Parliaments Forces the better Opportunity to Compleat their Conquests, and therefore Fairfax on the 23d of August formed the Siege of Bristol, which was carried on with much Vigour, and Prince Rupert made as Resolute a Defence, till having sustained a Storm, the Place was Sept. 11 surrendered upon Articles. The suddain and unexpected Loss of Bristol, was a new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the Measures which had been taken, and the Designs which had been contrived, than the Loss of the Battle of Naseby had done. The King had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scotch Army might not be able to interrupt him, and passed through Shropshire, and Derbyshire, till he came to Wellbeck, a House of the Marquess of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, then a Garrison for his Majesty, where he staid Two Days, and as far as any Resolution was fixed in those Days, the Purpose was, 'to march directly into Scotland, to join with the Marquess of Mountrose; who had, upon the Matter, reduced that whole Kingdom. During his short Stay at Wellbeck, the Governour of Newark, with the Commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those Gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pontefract-Castle, (which, after a long

Bristol surrendered to the Parliament.

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The King
goes to Don-
caster.

long and brave defence, was lately, for meer want of all kind of Provisions, Surrender'd upon good Conditions; whereby 'all the Soldiers had liberty to repair to their own Houses, and might live quietly there: Whereupon the Gentlemen assured the King, 'they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required. Whatever it were the King here changed his Mind, and thought 'it was not best to continue his march with that speed he intended towards *Montrose*; but 'that it would be better to send an Express to him, to agree upon a fit Place for their meeting; and in the mean time his Majesty might be able to refresh his wearied Troops, and 'to raise a Body of Foot in those Parts. To which purpose *Doncaster* was proposed as a fit Place to begin in, whither he went; and the Gentlemen to well perform'd their Undertaking, that Three Days, there was an appearance of full Three Thousand Foot, who undertook, within Four and Twenty Hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majesty what Way soever he would go; but that very Night receiving Intelligence 'that *David Lesley* was come to *Rotherham* with all 'the *Scotch* Horse, which was within Ten Miles 'to *Doncaster*, the News whereof so confounded them, that they concluded 'he came in pursuit of 'the King, and therefore that it was now too late 'to proceed upon their Northern Expedition, and 'that the King must speedily remove to a great distance for his own Security; which was back again to *Newark*; resolving then to go directly to *Oxford*: Whereas in truth *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King's being in those Parts; but, upon sudden Orders from *Scotland*, was required to march, with all possible Expedition, with the Horse, to relieve his own Country from being totally over-run and subdued by the Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had then actually taken *Edenborough*. The Orders had no sooner come to the *Scotch* Army before *Hereford*, but he begun his March, without the least Apprehension of any Enemy in his Way, till he should come into *Scotland*; and so, as he had made

made a very long march that Day, he came tired and wearied with his Troops that Night into *Rotterdam*. And he confessed afterwards, 'if the King had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill Posture to have made Resistance, and had absolutely preserv'd *Montrose*. But by his so sudden retreat, *Lesley* was at liberty to pursue his march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Montrose* before he expected such an Enemy; and so prevented his future Triumph, that he was compell'd with great Loss to retire again into the Highlands; and *Lesley* return'd time enough to relieve and support the *Scottish* Army, after they were compell'd to rise from *Hereford*. Montrose defeated by David Lesley.

The King before the end of *August* arriv'd at *Oxford*, where he did not stay above Two Days, but departed from thence again to *Worcester*, with a Resolution to attempt the Relief of *Hereford*; which had defended it self bravely, and very much weaken'd the *Scotch* Army by frequent Salley. They had only a Body of Eight Hundred tired Horse remaining, which *Lesley* left behind him when he march'd with the rest into *Scotland*; but the *Scotch* no sooner heard of his Motion that Way than they rais'd the Siege in Disorder and Confusion, and resolv'd to make their retreat on the *Welsh* Side of the River, and so to pass through *Glocester*. This News was so welcome, that the King was receiv'd with so much Joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he slipp'd the Opportunity he then had of ruining the *Scotch* Army; which now pass'd through a strange Country, where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely Odious to the People. Nor would the Governour of *Glocester* suffer them to pass through his Garrison, till they sent him word plainly 'that if they might not pass through that Town, they knew they should be very welcome to pass through *Worcester*; but the King's Heart was now so wholly set upon the Relief of *Bristol*, the surrender of which he had not yet an Account of, that nothing else was thought upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so the King, from *Hereford* advertised Prince *Rupert*, that he had rais'd the Siege of *Hereford* and

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and that the Scots were marched Northward; that he intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he had then commanded General Goring to draw what Force he could out of the West, and to march to the Somersetshire Side of Bristol; and that his Majesty would himself have a Body of Three Thousand Foot drawn out of the several Garrisons of those Parts which should pass over the Severn, about Berkley-Castle on Gloucestershire Side: And that his Horse, which were then above Three Thousand, should at the same Time Ford the Severn not far from Gloucester, (as they might have done) and so join with his Foot; and by this Means all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on Fairfax his Quarters on both Sides. And the better to bring all this to pass, the King himself went to Ragland.

But he there receiv'd the terrible Information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the Evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believ'd: Upon this he return'd to Hereford, the Post he chose, wherein to consider the Desperateness of the Condition he was in, and to enter upon new Consultations. And to that purpose he sent Orders for all the Officers, and their Troops, which had been sent into Shropshire, Worcestershire, and South Wales, to provide for the Relief of Bristol, to attend him there. And as soon as he came to Hereford, he dispatched an Express with this Letter to Prince Rupert.

Hereford, Sep. 14th 1645.

Nephew,

The King's
Letter to
Prince Ru-
pert upon
his Surren-
der of Bri-
stol.

Though the Loss of Bristol be a great Blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much Affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the Consideration of that Place, but is likewise the greatest Trial of my Constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, after one that is so near me as you are, both in Blood and Friendship, submits himself to so mean an Action (I give it the easiest Term) such --- I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it: Only lest rashness of Judgment be laid to my Charge; I must remember you of

of your Letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me, that if no Mutiny happen'd, you would keep Bristol for Four Months. Did you keep it Four Days? Was there any Thing like a Mutiny? More Questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose: My Conclusion is, to desire you to seek your Subsistence, until it shall please God to determine of my Condition, somewhere beyond Seas, to which end I send you here-with a Pass; and I pray to God to make you sensible of your present Condition, and give you Means to Redeem what you have Lost; for I shall have no greater Joy in a Victory, than a Just Occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being.

Your Loving Uncle, and most Faithful Friend,

C. R.

With this Letter the King sent a Revocation of all Commissions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert*, and signified his Pleasure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Bristol*, 'that they should require Prince *Rupert* to deliver to their Hands his Commission. His Majesty, at the same time, sent a Warrant likewise for the speedy Imprisonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governour of *Oxford*) as a Person much in the Prince's Favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his Commands. But this Circumstance of Rigour made the other Judgment upon the Prince thought to be over sudden and rash, 'that he should be made the first Example of the King's Severity, 'when so many high Enormities and Miscarriages of others had passed without being call'd in Question. And as no Body suspected the Prince's want of Duty in submitting to the King's Pleasure, so Colonel *Leg* was generally believ'd to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all Temptations: But this was too much like the Rashness and Levity of this Prince.

When the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceston* from *Exeter*, (which was about the middle of September)

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ber) after the Loss of *Bristol*, and the Motion of the Enemy inclined Westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Train'd-Bands of *Cornwal* to *Lan-ceston*, and as many as could be perswaded to march Eastward; it being agreed at *Exeter*, tho' the King's Affairs in the West began now to decline, that *Digby* was to receive Orders from *Sir Richard Greenvil*; and accordingly, upon *Sir Richard Greenvil's* advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Okington*, *Digby* was order'd so to do; which he observ'd accordingly.

In the beginning of *October* the Lord *Goring* perswaded the Commissioners of *Devon*, upon his Promise to Punish and Suppress all Disorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets should be free, to double the Contribution of the County for Six Weeks, and to assign half thereof to his Army, by Virtue whereof he raised vast Sums of Money, but abated nothing of the former Disorders and Pressures: And the Money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the Soldiers, was disposed to such Persons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no sooner was *Sir Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the Lord *Goring* gave over the Thought of defending *Devon*; and by his Letter of the Eleventh of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, said, that he had sent all the Horse, but One Thousand, Westward, under the Command of the Major General, to join with the Cornish, who were to advance; and that himself, with One Thousand Horse, and all his Foot, resolv'd to stay in *Exeter* to Defend that Town, if the Enemy came before it; or to be ready to attend their Rear if they march'd forward; and therefore desired, that his Highness would appoint whom he thought fit to give Orders to the Lord *Wentworth*, his Major General, who was prepared not to dispute Orders sent by any Substituted by the Prince.

Hereupon the Prince had appointed *Sir Richard Greenvil* to advance with the Cornish to *Okington*, and directed the Major General to receive Orders from him: But by that Time they Two had disposed themselves in order, as they did very handsomely and chearfully, *Goring* changed his Mind,

Mind, and within Four Days after his former Letter he retired with Two Thousand Horse out of Exeter to Newton Bushel; and then sent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord Colepepper, to know whether Sir Richard Grenvil should receive Orders from him; and offer'd to undertake any Design with Sir Richard Grenvil, or by himself, as the Prince should direct; or that if his Presence and Command should be thought, on the Account of any Indisposition in the Cornish towards him, probable to produce any Inconvenience to the Service, he would willingly, for that Expedition, Resign his Command to any Person the Prince would design for it: Intimating withal, that if the Lord Hopton had it, the Lord Wentworth would willingly receive Orders from him. His Highness the next Day writ to him, that he committed the Management of the whole to his Lordship, and had commanded Grenvil to receive Orders from him, who had then a good Body of Cornish with him, and Power to draw off the Men from Plymouth, if there should be Occasion.

The King's having been in perpetual Motion, as hath been mention'd before, kept the Express that had been sent to him from the Princes Counsellors, upon the Signification of his Pleasure concerning the Prince's Transportation into France, from delivering that Letter for some Time. So that it was the middle of October, before they receiv'd his Majesty's further Direction. Then this Letter to the Lord Colepepper was brought back by the same Express.

Colepepper.

I have seen and consider'd your Dispatches; and for this time you must be content with Results without the Reasons, leaving you to find them: The Lord Goring must break through to Oxford with his Horse and from thence, if he can find me out, wheresoever he shall understand I shall be; the Region about Newark being, as I conceive, the most likely Place. But that which is of more Necessity, indeed absolute, is that with the best Conveniency, the most Secrecy, and greatest Expedition, Prince Charles be Transported into France; where his Mother is to have the sole Care of

The King's Letter concerning the Prince of Wales.

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of him, in all things but one, which is his Religion; and that must still be under the Care of the Bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his Mother shall submit unto; concerning which by my next Dispatch I will advertise her; this is all: So I rest,

Your most assured Friend, *Charles R.*

Though this Letter was writ after the Loss of *Bristol*, yet when it arriv'd the Hopes of the West were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the Lords, 'that as the Person of the Prince was never to be in hazard of being surprized, so he was not to be Transported out of the King's Dominions, but upon apparent visible Necessity, in Point of Safety. In the mean while, the Enemy having gain'd *Tiverton*, made no great haste to the West of *Exeter*, but spent their Time in Fortifying some Houses near the Town on the East Side, without receiving the least Disturbance from the Army; *Goring* entertaining himself in his usual Jollity between *Exeter*, *Totness*, and *Dartmouth*, it being publicly spoken in *Exeter*, 'that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and speedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant General *Porter* resolv'd to go to the Parliament; long before the Prince understood General *Goring's* Resolution to go into *France*, by any Intimation from himself. The Twentieth of November his Lordship writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord *Wentworth*, 'that now that the Enemy and his Lordship was settled in their Winter Quarters (whereas the Enemy was as stirring as ever) he did beg leave of his Highness to spend some time for the recovery of his Health in *France*; intimating 'that he hoped to do his Highness some notable Service by that Journey; and desired that his Army might remain entirely under the Command of the Lord *Wentworth* (whereas not above a Fortnight before, he had writ, that the Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return, which he said should be in Two Months; and so having dispatch'd the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordship, never attending his Highness's leave or Approbation, went the same, or the next Day,

Day, to *Darmouth*, where he staid no longer than till he could procure a passage into *France*; whether with the First Wind he was transported. Lieutenant General *Porter* at the same time declining the Exercise of his Command, and having receiv'd several Messages, Letters, and a Pass from the Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge thereof General *Goring* Sign'd a Warrant for the levying Two Hundred Pounds upon the Country for the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wentworth* at the time of his being then at *Truro*, told some of his Confidants, 'that *Goring* intended to return no more to the Army, or into *England*; but relied upon him to preserve the Horse from being engaged till he could procure a Licence from the Parliament to Transport them, for the Service of a Foreign Prince, which would be a Fortune to the Officers. And the Major General said afterwards at *Launceston*, that he could not understand the Lord *Goring's* Designs; for that at his going from the Army he gave the Officers great Charge to preserve their Regiments, for he had Hope to get leave to Transport them; and within few Days after he arrived at *Paris*, he sent Captain *Porridge* into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle Horses, and Horses of Service, upon Pretence that he was to present them in *France*; though at the same Time he assured his Friends, that he was returning speedily with Men and Money; which was not the more believ'd by his sending for his Horses.

Though there had been no great Modesty used in the Discourses of the People towards General *Goring*, from the Time of his first settling in the West, especially of the *Cornish*, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continued Neglects and Contempts of them (as he would usually before *Taunton*, when he viewed his Foot, clap an *Irishman*, or one of those Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, on the Shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, 'that he was worth Ten *Cornish* Cowards, the greatest Part of his Present Strength, and all his Future Hopes, depending upon the *Cornish*, many whereof had

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Goring re-
tires into
France.

Reflections
on Goring.

Reason

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 Reflections
 on Goring.

Reason to believe themselves not Inferior to any who had serv'd the King) yet from the Time that he left the Army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater Liberty; and declared, *That he had from the beginning combined with the Rebels; and having wasted and ruined all the Supplies which had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and odious Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a County more justly incens'd, and consequently more merciless than they.* They compared the loss of Weymouth in the View of his Army, after he had been in the Town, and when the whole Direction was in him, with the Counter-Scuffle at Petherton Bridge, when Two of his own Parties, pursuing the Orders they had receiv'd, fought with each other, whilst the Enemy retired to own Strengths: They remember'd the voluntary, wanton Incensing the Country; the discountenancing the Garrison of Lamport and dissolving it; the eating the Provisions of the rest; the cherishing the Club-men; and the lying with his whole Army before Taunton full Six Weeks; (after he had declared the Enemy to be in his Mercy within Six Days) and in that time (pretending that he would in few Days starve them (he suffer'd great Quantities of Provisions to be carried in to them through his own Quarters, and several Interviews, and private Meetings to be by his Brother Porter (whose Integrity he had before suspected) and the chief Officers of the Rebels: The neglecting his Body of Foot during the time that he lay before Taunton by which he suffer'd above Two Thousand to run away. They talked of the beating up his Head Quarters the Day before the Rout at Lamport at Noon-day, for which no Man was ever called to a Council of War; and that total Rout at Lamport, as Two of the most supine and unsoldierly Defeats that were ever known; before which or in those Streights, or upon any other Occasions of Advice, that he never called a Council of War to consider what was to be done; and in that last Business of Lamport himself so far from being Present, that coming in great Disorder to Bridgewater, he said he had lost his Foot and Cannon; which indeed were brought off entirely by the Care and Diligence of the Lord Wentworth and Sir Joseph Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard-of neglecting the Army, after that Retreat at Bridge-

Bridgewater, insomuch, as of between Three and Four Thousand Foot which himself confessed he had after that Business (and if his Loss had been no greater than he own'd must have been a far greater Number) within Sixteen Days he had not Thirteen Hundred, nor ever after recover'd a Man, but what was gotten up by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Lastly they remember'd his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of July, which was about the Time of his Retreat from Lamport, to the end of November, when he went to France (which was Five Months) with a Body of above Four Thousand Horse and Foot; destroying, and irreconciling the Country to the King, and the Cause, without making the least Attempt, or in any Degree looking after the Enemy; whilst the Rebels by formal Sieges, took in the Garrisons of Bridgewater, Sherborn and Britol, and many other important Holds.

Upon the whole Matter, comparing his Words, and his Actions, laying his Doing, and his not Doing, together, they concluded, that if he had been confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted to betray the West, he could not have taken a more effectual Way to do it; since he had not Interest enough by any Overt Act to have put it into their Power; and therefore they who had a greater Opinion of his Wit, Courage and Conduct, than of his Conscience and Integrity, presumed the Failing was in the Latter; towards which Opinion they were the more inclined, by many Discourses negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters, that they were sure enough of Goring; and by Sir Thomas Fairfax's applying himself to the taking those Strong Places after the Rout at Lamport, without ever considering or looking after the Lord Goring's Army; which he could not but know, consisted of a Body of Horse, equal in Number to his own; and had Reason to apprehend those Two Populous Counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the Foot; which Negligence (said they) Fairfax could never be Guilty of, if he had not been well assured that those Forces should work them no Inconvenience; besides that, being unpursued, Goring might easily have made

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on escape, and joined with the King, and so have diverted all the Enemies Designs upon the West. Others there were who would believe nothing of *Goring's* Infidelity.

The Prince of *Wales* all this while was very intent upon the Relief of *Exeter*, and proper Measures were taken for that Service under the Command of the Lord *Wentworth*, while the King, seeing the Necessity of his Affairs, being solicitous for the Security of his Highness, sent him the following Letter.

Oxford, November 7, 1645.

Charles,

*A Letter
from the
King to the
Prince.*

I Leave others to tell you the News of these Parts, which are not so ill as I believe the Rebels would make you believe: That which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you find your self in a probable Danger of falling into the Rebels Hands, to Transport your self into Denmark; and upon my Blessing not to stay too long upon uncertain Hopes within this Island, in Case of Danger as abovesaid. For if I mistake not the present Condition of the West, you ought not to defer your Journey one Hour; in this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond Sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not restrain you only to Denmark, but permit you to chuse any other Country, rather than to stay here. As for Scotland and Ireland I forbid you either, until you shall have perfect Assurance that Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl of Mountrose, in the other, be in a very good Condition; which upon my word he is not now: So God Bless you.

Your loving Father, Charles R.

Though the Intimations in this Letter were strong for a Present remove, yet the Council not being Positive, and the Time of the Year being such, as that the Prince could not be blocked up by Sea, and so could chuse his own Time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnstable* in the other well Garrison'd, besides the Blockade before

fore Plymouth, and the Reputation of an Army, the Council were of Opinion that the Time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former Design of joining the *Cornish* to the Horse, and to endeavour the Relief of *Exeter*; for which Purpose, the Prince undertook a Journey to *Tavistock*, and at his coming thither receiv'd this other Letter from the King.

1645.

Oxford, December 7, 1645.

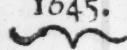
Charles,

I Writ to you this Day Month; of which, few Days after, I sent you a Duplicate. The Causes of my Com-
mands to you in that Letter are now multiplied. I will name but one, which I am sure is sufficient for what I shall now add to my former: It is This; I have resolv'd to Propose a Personal Treaty to the Rebels at London; in order to which a Trumpet is by this Time there, to demand a Pass for my Messengers who are to carry my Propositions; which if admitted, as I believe it will, then my real Security will be your being in another Country, as also a chief Argument (which speaks it self without an Orator) to make the Rebels hearken and yield to Reason: Whereas therefore I left you by my last to judge of the Time, I absolutely command you to seek for carefully, and take the first Opportunity of Transporting your self into Denmark, if conveniently you can; but rather than not go out of this Kingdom, immediately after the receipt of this, I permit and command you to repair to any other Country, as France, Holland, &c. whereto you may arrive with most convenient Security as to your passage; for nothing else is to be feared: I need not recommend to you the leaving the Country in the best Posture you may, it so speaks it self, as I shall always do to be

Another
Letter
from his
Majesty.

Your loving Father, Charles R.

Upon the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimously of Opinion that the Relief of *Exeter* was to proceed in the manner before agreed on, and that the Prince's Person was to be Present at it: And thereupon they sent an Express to the King, with a Dispatch Sign'd by the Four who were trusted, a Duplicate whereof was sent by another Ex-

1645.  press the next Day, in which they presented a clear State to his Majesty of his Forces, and the Hopes they then had of improving their Condition by the Prince's Presence; of the Condition of *Exeter* and the Strength, as they conceiv'd, of the Enemy and of the Inconveniency, if not the Impossibility of obeying his Majesty at that Time. They farther inform'd his Majesty of ' the great Indisposition, ' that they perceived in all the Servants towards ' his Highness leaving the Kingdom; and that the ' Jealousie was too great of his going into *France*, ' that they had Reason to believe that many who ' were very faithful and tender of his Safety, ' would rather wish him in the Hands of the En- ' emy, than in that Kingdom; and therefore, when ' the Time of Necessity should come (which they ' assured his Majesty they would with any hazard ' watch and observe) they must prefer the con- ' tinuing him still within his Majesty's own Do- ' minions, and so to waite him to *Silly*, or *Jersey*, and ' from thence conclude what was to be done farther. ' They presented likewise their humble Opinion to him, ' that in Case he should be engaged in a Personal ' Treaty at *London* (which they conceiv'd the Rebels ' would never admit, without such Acts first obtain'd ' from his Majesty, as might invalidate His Power, ' and confirm theirs) how inconvenient it might be ' without the Privy of those Counsellors whom he ' was then to Trust, to Transport the Prince, except ' in Danger of Surprizal, before the Issue of that ' Treaty might be discern'd: Assuring his Majesty, ' that nothing should put his Highness's Person in- ' to the Hands of the Parliament but his Majesty's ' own commands; which they should not resist ' in his own Dominions, nor they conceiv'd, any ' any Body else, if he were out of them.

The Lord
Went-
worth's
Horse bea-
ren at Ash-
burton.

The Appearance at *Tavistock* answer'd the Expe- ctation; there being full Two Thousand Four Hundred of the Train'd bands very chearful, and ready to march; at *Okington* were Eight Hundred old Soldiers, under Major General *Molesworth*; the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be Eight Hundred, with the Lord *Goring's* Guards which were in *Dartmouth*; and to be drawn thence, upon the Advance to the Army: From *Barnstable* the Governor had promised

to send Five Hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the least a Thousand Five Hundred Men were promised: All which, with his Highness's Guards, might well be depended upon for Six Thousand Foot. The Horse was very little fewer than Five Thousand, whereof his Highness's Guards made near Seven Hundred; so that if all these could have been brought to Fight, the Day seem'd not desperate. The Foot were appointed to have march'd the morrow, when the News came, 'that the Enemy was advanced, 'and had beaten up the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarters in Two several Places; and shortly after the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himself came in, in great disorder, not inform'd of the particular of his Loss, but conceiv'd it to be greater than in Truth it was, though many Men, and more Horses, were taken in both Places. The Prince was very desirous to pursue the former Resolution, and to have advanced with the whole Body to *Totness*; but the Lord *Wentworth* did not only alledge, 'that 'propably the Enemy was possessed by that Time 'of *Totness*, but that he had in Truth no Hope to rally his Horse together, in any Numbers, till 'they might be allowed Three or Four Days rest. Hereupon they drew off the Blockade from *Plymouth* and *Tavistock*, being no longer thought a Place fit for the Prince's Residence, his Highness by the Advice of a Council of War, removed to *Launceston*.

In the mean Time the King stayed at *Hereford* in great Perplexity and Irresolution, not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to *Worcester*; till he was assured, 'that the whole Strength 'of the Parliament in the *North* was gather'd together under the Command of *Pointz*; and that 'he was already come between *Hereford* and *Worcester*, with a Body of above Three Thousand Horse and Dragoons; with which he was appointed always to attend the King's Motion: So that it would be very hard for his Majesty to get to *Worcester*, whither his Purpose of going was, upon the new Resolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to join with *Mountrose*, who was yet understood to be prosperous. This being the only Design, it was not thought reasonable 'to prosecute that March by *Worcester*, and thereby to run 'the

1645.

Pointz
routs Lang-
dale near
Chester.

the hazard of an Engagement with *Pointz*; but rather to take a more secure passage through *North Wales* to *Chester*, and thence through *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*, to find a Way into *Scotland* unobstructed by any Enemy that could oppose them. At last the King came within half a Day's Journey of *Chester*; which he found in more Danger than he suspected; for within Three Days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbouring Garrisons, had surprized both the Outworks, and Suburbs of *Chester*, and had made some attempt upon the City, to the great Terror and Consternation of those within; who had no Apprehension of such a Surprize.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was sent with most of the Horse over *Holt-Bridge*, that he might be on the East Side of the River *Dee*; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the rest of the Horse, marched directly into *Chester*, with a Resolution, that early the Day following Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* should have fallen upon the Back of the Enemy, when all the Force of the Town should have sallied out, and so inclosed them. But Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath Two Miles from *Chester*, had intercepted a Letter from *Pointz* (who had march'd a much shorter Way, after he was inform'd which Way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Chester*, telling him, 'that he was come to their rescue, and desiring to have some Foot sent to him, to assist him against the King's Horse: And the next Morning he appear'd, and was charged by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and forced to retire with Loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the Foot from before *Chester* might come to him. The Besiegers began to draw out of the Suburbs in such haste, that it was believ'd in *Chester*, they were upon their flight, and so most of the Horse and Foot in the Town had order to pursue them. But they quickly joined *Pointz* and then they charged *Langdale*, who was routed, and put to flight; and pursued by *Pointz*, even to the Walls of *Chester*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King's Guards, and the

the Lord Gerrard with the rest of the Horse, were drawn up, and charged *Pointz* and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those Horse, which first fled, had so filled the narrow Ways, which were unfit for Horse to fight in, that at last the Enemies Musqueteers compell'd the King's to turn, and to rout one another, and to bear down their own Officers, who would have restrain'd them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the Earl of *Lichfield*, who was the Third Brother of that Illustrious Family that sacrificed their Lives in this Quarrel. He was a very Faultless Young Man, of a most Gentle, Courteous and Affable Nature, and of a Spirit and Courage Invincible; whose Loss all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary Grief.

1645.

Earl of
Lichfield's
Death and
Character.

The Design of marching Northward was now at an End; and it was well it was so; for about this time *Mountrose* was defeated by *David Lesley*; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolv'd to have done the very next Day after he came to *Chester*, he could never have been able to have retreated. He staid in *Chester* only one Night after this Blow, but return'd to *Denbigh-Castle* in North *Wales*, from whence he continued his march without resting, till by *Fording* the *Severn* they came to *Bridgenorth*, the Place design'd. Now every Body expected, that they should forthwith go to *Worcester*, and take up their Winter Quarters; but upon the News of the Surrender of *Berkley-Castle* in *Glocestershire*, and of the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, Two strong Garrisons of the King, it was urged, that *Worcester* would not be a good Place for the King's Winter Residence, and *Newark* was propos'd as a Place of more Security by the Lord *Digby*.

The King
retires to
Denbigh,
&c.

When the King came to *Newark*, he betook himself to the regulating the Disorders of that Garrison; which, by their great Luxury and Excesses, in a Time of so General Calamity, had given Just Scandal to the Commissioners, and to the Country. The Garrison consisted of about Two Thousand Horse and Foot; and to those there were about Four and Twenty Colonels and General Officers,

The Condi-
tion of
Newark.

1645.

ficers, who had all liberal Assignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; so that though that small County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigness of England, there was very little left to pay the Common Soldiers, or to provide for any other Expences. This made so great a Noise, that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it, and reduced some of the Officers entirely, and lessen'd the Pay of others, which added to the Number of the Discontented, which was too numerous before. Now Reports were spread abroad with great Confidence, and the Advertisement sent from several Places, though no Author named, that *Mountrose* after his Defeat, by an Access of those Troops which were then absent, had Fought again with *David Lesley*; and totally defeated him, and that he was marched towards the Borders with a strong Army. This News, how groundless soever, was so very good, that it was easily believ'd, and believ'd to that degree, that the King himself declared a Resolution the Third time, to advance and join with *Mountrose*, and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his Way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevail'd so far, that the King resolv'd without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Report, to move Northward to meet the News, and if it fell not out to his Wish he would return to *Newark*. In this Resolution, after a Weeks stay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*, and the next Day to *Wellbeck*, having in his Way met with the same General Reports of *Mountrose's* Victories, which were interpreted as so many Confirmations, and therefore though the King assembled his Council to consult at *Wellbeck*, he declared that he would not have it debated whether he should advance, or retire, but concerning the manner of his advancing, since he was resolv'd not to retire; which he was sure would be attended with more Mischief than could accompany his advancing. Thereupon it was agreed that they should march the next Day to *Rotheram*,

and

‘and that the Troops should be drawn to a Rendezvous the next Morning at such an Hour; and so the Officers were rising to give Orders out for the Execution of what was resolved, when in the instant one knocked at the Door, who being call’d in, was found to be the Trumpeter formerly sent from *Cardiff* to the *Scotch* Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*, General thereof; who had taken him as far as *Berwick* before he would suffer him to be discharged. The King asked him, ‘what he had heard of the Marquis ‘of *Montrose*? He answer’d, that the last ‘News he had heard of him, was, that he was ‘about *Sterling*, retiring farther North; and that ‘*David Lesly* was in *Lothian*, on this Side *Edenborough*; and that the *Scotch* Army lay between North *Allerton* and *Newcastle*. This so unexpected Relation dashed the former Purpose; and the Lord *Digby* himself declared, ‘that it was by no ‘Means fit for his Majesty to advance, but to retire ‘presently to *Newark*; which was by every Body ‘agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the next Morning to continue; at which the King declared, ‘that though it was not judged fit ‘for himself to advance Northward, yet he ‘thought it very necessary, that *Langdale* should, ‘with the Horse under his command, march that ‘Way, and endeavour to join with *Montrose*. And having said so, his Majesty look’d upon Sir *Marmaduke*, who very chearfully submitted to his Majesty’s Pleasure, and said, ‘he had only one ‘Suit to make to his Majesty, which was, that ‘the Lord *Digby* might command in Chief, and ‘he under him. But because this Expedition was in a short Time at an end, it will not be amiss to finish the Relation in this Place, there being no Occasion to resume it hereafter. The Lord *Digby* was inform’d at his being at *Doncaster*, that ‘there was in a Town Two or Three Miles distant, ‘and little out of the Way of the next Day’s march, ‘One Thousand Foot newly raised for the Parliament, ‘which he resolv’d the next Morning to fall upon, and did it so well, that they all threw down their Arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted

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*The Lord
Digby rout-
ed at Sher-
borne in
Yorkshire.*

ted his march to a Town called *Sherborne*, where he staid to refresh his Troops; and whilst he staid there he had notice of the Advance of some Troops of Horse towards him, under the Command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* presently Sounded to Horse, and having gotten some few Troops ready, marched with them out of the Town; and finding *Copley* standing upon a convenient Ground, he would not stay for his other Companies, but immediately charged them with that Courage, that he routed most of their Bodies; which, after a short Resistance, fled, and were pursued by his Horse through *Sherborne*, where the other Troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the Flight of Horse, in great Consternation concluded that they were their Fellows, who had been routed by the Enemy; and so with Equal Confusion they mounted their Horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways as they severally conceiv'd to be most for their Safety. By this Means a Troop that remain'd upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and those Officers and Gentlemen who remained about him, who were compell'd to make their retreat to *Skipton*; which they did with the Loss of Sir *Richard Hutton*, a Gallant and Worthy Gentleman, and Two or Three other Persons; and with the Loss of the Lord *Digby's* Baggage, in which was his Cabinet of Papers, which being Published by the Parliament, administer'd afterwards so much Occasion of Discourse. At *Skipton* most of the scatter'd Troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other Misadventure through *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as far as *Dunfrieze* in *Scotland*; and then neither receiving Directions which Way to march, nor where *Mountrose* was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the Hands of the *Scotch* Army upon the Borders; in the highest Despair, that Lord, Sir *Marquise Langdale*, and most of the other Officers, embarked themselves for the *Isle of Man*, and shortly after for *Ireland*, where we shall leave them, all the Troops being left by them to shift for themselves. Thus a Matter of Fifteen Hundred Horse which march'd Northward, within very few Days were brought to nothing; and the Generalship of the Lord

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Lord Digby to an end. Cl—— says of this Lord, that he affected Astrology, which he took to be Fatal to most that did so; for it too often drew, them off from Duty, by supposing their Destiny inevitable, and brought them in the Condition of necessary Animals, who were created to be voluntary agents. But his Skill in this Art failed him likewise, for it made him despond of King Charles II's return, at a Time when he was near his Restoration, and so changing his Religion in compliance with Don John of Austria, he incapacitated himself for that Publick Employment or Office of Secretary of State, which formerly he had. Again, that he held to the Old Distinction betwixt the Church of Rome and the Court of Rome, entitling himself to the first. But tho' he had formerly written very learnedly and solidly in maintenance of our Religion to his Kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby, yet after his Change he never answered his own Polemicks. And he says, he heard from those, that were often with him in his last Sickness, that it was not perceived, that he had either a Priest of that Creed, or of ours, to administer to him, yet he was observed to be very Devout, and frequent in Prayer.

When Digby and Langdale left the King, his Majesty march'd back to Newark with Eight Hundred Horse of his own Guards, and Troops belonging to the Lord Gerrard, and quickly heard of the Misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the Place where he was, for by this Time Pointz was come with all his Troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the Force of Lincolnshire to Grantham, so that he was only to watch an Opportunity, by the Darkness of the Nights, and good Guides, to steal from thence to Worcester or Oxford. But before his Majesty could leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies; Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir-Castle, with his Brother Prince Maurice, and about One Hundred and Twenty Officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a Charge from

The Discontents of some of his Chief Commanders against the King at Newark.

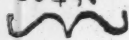
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from *Rossiter*, and broke through without any considerable Loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a Letter to him, by which he required him to stay at *Belvoir* till further Order; and apprehend him, for not having given Obedience to his former Command: He came the next Day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, Governour of the Town, with One Hundred Horse Two Miles in his Way. About an Hour after with this Train he came to the Court, and found the King in the Presence, and without Ceremony told his Majesty, that he was come to render an Account of the Loss of *Bristol*, and to clear himself from those Imputations which had been cast upon him. The King said very little to him, but went to Supper, and during which he asked some Questions of Prince *Maurice*, without saying any Thing to the other, and then retired to his Chamber, without additting any farther Discourse; and the Prince return'd to the Governour's House, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would say, that he might with the more Ease provide for his own Escape from thence; which was high Time to make, So he appointed the next Day to hear his Defence, which the Prince made with many Protestations of his Innocence; and how impossible it was long to defend the Fort after the Line was enter'd. Upon this his Majesty, after a Day or Two's Debate, caused a short Declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was absolv'd, and clear'd from any Disloyalty or Treason in the surrendring of *Bristol*, but not of Indiscretion. The change of the Posture of the Enemy, and *Pointz*'s coming to the North Side of *Trent*, made the King resolve to begin his march on the Sunday Night, being the Twentieth of October, which he imparted to none but Two or Three of the nearest Trust. But the Differences were grown so high between the Governour and the Commissioners, (who were all the Principal Gentlemen of the Country, and had been so much increased by the mutual Contests which had been between them in the Presence of the King,) that there

there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the Garrison, but by the removal of the Governour; which was so evident to the King, that he resolv'd on that Expedient; and on the *Sunday Morning* sent for Sir *Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber, and after many Gracious Expressions of 'the Satisfaction he had receiv'd in his Service, and of the great Abilities he had to Serve him, he told him 'his own Design to be gone that Night; and that he resolv'd to make him Captain of his Horse-Guards in the Place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been lately kill'd before *Chester*, and that he would leave the Lord *Bellasis* Governour of *Newark*, who being allied to most of the Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and having a good Estate there, would be more acceptable to them. His Majesty condescended so far as to tell him, that he did not hereby give a Judgment on the Commissioners Side, who, he declared, had been to blame in many Particulars; and that he himself could not have an ampler Vindication than by the Honour and Trust he now conferr'd upon him; but he found it would be much easier to remove him than to reform the Commissioners, who being many, could not be any other way united in his Service.

Willis appear'd very much troubled, and excused the not taking the other Command, 'as a Place of too great Honour, and that his Fortune could not maintain him in that Employment; he said, that his Enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be look'd upon as cast out and disgraced, who was placed so near his Person; which he told him he would find to be true when he had thought a lirtle of it. Before the King had dined, *Willis* with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and about Twenty Officers of the Garrison, enter'd into the Presence-Chamber: *Willis*, address'd himself to the King and told him, 'that what his Majesty had said to him in private, was now the publick Talk of the Town, and very much to his Dishonour: Prince *Rupert* said, 'that *Willis* was to be removed

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‘from his Government, for no Fault that he had committed, but for being his Friend: The Lord *Gerrard* added, ‘that it was the Plot of the Lord *Digby*, who was a Traitor, and he would prove him to be so. The King was so surprized with his manner of Behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the Table, and would have gone into his Bed-Chamber, calling *Willis* to follow him, who answer’d aloud, ‘that he had receiv’d a Publick Injury, and therefore that he expected a Publick Satisfaction. Which so provoked his Majesty, that he commanded them to depart from his Presence, and come no more into it. After this his Majesty retired with all the Secrecy he could to *Oxford* where we shall leave him at some sort of Ease to consider of the Posture of his Affairs about the End of this Year.

Cromwell
takes *Win-*
chester and
Basing.

But we are not to forget the many Messages sent by him to the Parliament from time to time for a Peace, wherewith they now seemed loth enough to comply, and the King in as much need of it; for *Cromwell*, having left *Fairfax* in the West, with a Party selected set down before *Basing*, and his Imperious Summons having been rejected, he storm’d the Place, and took it, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword: And a little before *VWinchester* had surrender’d upon Easie Conditions. The lesser Garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were render’d every Day; and the *Scotch* Army, which had march’d as far as their own Borders, was call’d back, and required to Beliege *Newark*.

The Occur-
rences of the
Year in Ger-
many.

The Old Year terminating thus unhappily enough in *England*, before the end of which *Col. Morgan* and *Col. Birch* surprized *Hereford*, it is time we should give a concise Sceaeh of our Neighbours Affairs abroad, and so without recapitulating any thing that has been said of the *Swedish* Wars in *Germany*, and of the *Danes*, we find that about the beginning of this Year *Helm Urangel* made a very considerable Progress in the Countries of *Jutland* and *Holsace*, and made himself Master of almost all *Marklanden*. Upon the other Side of the *Elbe* *Königsmark* marched with all speed into the *Archbishoprick*

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shoprick of Bremen. After having conquered *Altenland* and *Kedingerland*, he laid Siege to *Staden*, which was forced to Surrender the Second Day; and other Places following its Example, *Urangel* in less than a Month's time became Master of all that Country. It's true, Colonel *Eggering* retook *Vermurde*; but *Koningsmark* took it again the following Year. The *Svedes* made also some Progress upon the Frontiers of *Norway*. *Urangel* also made himself Master of the Island of *Bernbalim*, and resolved to attempt some other Places. *Gustavus Horn* intended once more to attack *Malmo*, but before he could put his Design in Execution the Peace was concluded by the Mediation of *France* and *Holland*. By this Treaty the King of *Denmark* gave up to *Sweden* for ever *Jempterland* and *Handalen*, with the Island of *Gothland* and *Oesel*, giving the Province of *Holland* as a Security for Twenty-six Years: They might have stipulated much more for the Crown of *Sweden*, if they durst have trusted the *Hollanders*, who had sent a Fleet of 45 Men of War into the *Sound*, without specifying in the least their Design. After the *Svedes* had brought the King of *Denmark* to seasonable Terms, and freed themselves from a suspected Mediator, they were as successful in the Progress of their Arms. For *Torstenfon* considering his Army had been sufficiently refreshed, resolved to march into the Emperor's Hereditary Country, in order to Check the new Levies they were raising there, and to draw near to *Ragotzi*, who made himself very pressing Instances to that Purpose: And to the end he might be secure behind, he made a Truce with the Elector of *Saxony*, which was very prejudicial to the Emperor, seeing by it he was abandon'd by his Ancient Friend and Ally: However, that Prince was not in his own Judgment so inclin'd to it, as he was wrought up by the pressing Instances of his Sons.

In the mean time the *Imperialists* gathered an Army together under the Command of *Hatsfeld*, in order to make head against *Torstenfon*, and oppose his further Progress into those Countries. The Emperor himself was in Person at *Prague*, to the

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end, that he might encourage his Troops by his Presence. The Two Armies were near *Jancowitz*, when both the Generals resolv'd to hazard a Battle. The *Imperialists* were determin'd to it as well upon the Account of their Emperor's Instances to them, as that they were also more numerous by Three Thousand Horse than the *Swedes*, and *Torsten*son was resolv'd not to decline it. The Place indeed was hardly very proper to join Battle, being environ'd upon all Sides with Hills and Woods. In the first Attack the *Swedes* routed the Left Wing of the *Imperial* Army, commanded by *John Gotz*, who was kill'd upon the Spot; after which, they posted themselves behind a Wood, whither the *Swedes* following them, the Battle became very obstinate on both Sides, until at last after an Engagement of Two Hours. the Two Wings of the *Imperial* Army were routed; but the Infantry keeping their Ground half an Hour longer, were surrounded by the *Swedes*, and almost all cut to pieces, and the rest taken Prisoners, with Marshal *Hatsfeld*, and a great many other Officers. The number of Prisoners amounted to above Four Thousand, and the number of the Slain was no less. The *Swedes* for their Part lost almost Two Thousand Men. The *Imperialists* suffer'd extremly by *Torsten*son's Cannon. The Flower of the *Imperial* and *Bavarian* Troops being cut off, *Torsten*son had a free Passage into *Moravia* and *Austria*; and without losing any Time, he enter'd through *Bohemia* into *Moravia*; and having taken *Iglau* and *Znain*, with a great many other Places in that Neighbourhood, and advanc'd as far as *Crems* upon the *Danube*, he carried that Place with a great deal of Ease: However, he could not pass the River there, in regard there were no convenient Boats in that Place. Besides, he had no great desire of it, his principal Intention being to join *Ragotzi's* Troops; and to that Purpose he march'd directly to him, taking in his Way *Cornanburg*, and the Fort of *Wegens-bruge*, with many other Castles and Towns in *Austria*, on this side the *Danube*. He stopp'd some time at *Mistelback*, to refresh his Troops (because the Enemy had been chased to the other side

The Battle of
Jancowitz.

Torsten-
son enters
Bavaria.

of the River) hoping after having join'd *Ragotzi*, to find some convenient Place to pass the *Danube* betwixt *Vienna* and *Presburg*, and so act upon both the sides of the River. After he had refresh'd the Troops for Four Weeks together, he went to Besiege *Brin*, where he found much Opposition, as well in regard of the Strength of the Place, as because *Souches*, who had formerly defeated the *Swedish* Troops, and commanded there, made a desperate Defence. In the mean time the Troops of *Ragotzi*, to the number of Five and Twenty Thousand Men, join'd *Torsten*; but all being undisciplin'd Men, they could not rely very much upon their Assistance; besides, they ravag'd the Country miserably, and therefore *Torsten* would gladly have them pass over the other side of the *Danube*: But *Ragotzi* chose rather to continue on this side, to the great Dissatisfaction of *Torsten*, who was sensible the *Transilvanians* would utterly ruin his Quarters. However, when *Torsten* understood the Defeat of the *French* near *Margentheim*, he us'd all manner of Ways to oblige *Ragotzi* to stay until he perswaded him to take Post on this side *Wiltenbergh*, near *Eisgralon*, and in that Neighbourhood. However, *Ragotzi* did not continue a long Time with *Torsten*; for the Emperor being very desirous to be freed of that Enemy, granted him all he could ask, inasmuch that *Ragotzi* having obtain'd all his Pretensions, turn'd his Back immediately upon the *Swedish* Army, and return'd home with his People. This Reason, jointly with the scarcity of Provisions, and insupportable Stink which annoy'd the *Swedish* Camp, because of their long continuance in that Place, oblig'd *Torsten* to raise the Siege of *Brin*, and to take his former Post near *Mittelbach*, to the end that having refresh'd his Troops, he might look out for the Enemy, in order to offer him Battle, or failing of that, he might chase him from the other side of the *Danube*; always designing to have *Austria* ravag'd, as well by Friends as Enemies: And to this effect he came with his Army to *Stekerau*; but was disappointed of his Aim there, because the Archduke *Leopold* march'd with Part of his Army to the Assistance of the Troops

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Torsten-
son quits
the Com-
mand of
the Army.

of *Bavaria* against the *French*, and had already so far advanc'd that it was impossible to overtake him. The Archduke left the rest of his Troops to guard very carefully the Passages of the *Danube*. But when *Torsten*son perceiv'd there was nothing to be done in *Austria*, and that both the *Pestilence* and *Bloody-flux* rag'd in his Army, because his Soldiers had eaten excessively of green Grapes, he resolv'd to provide them other Quarters before the Roads shou'd become impracticable; and endeavour'd to oblige the Archduke to return and stop him in his March; and to the end that *Austria* might not be altogether deliver'd of the *Swedes*, he left very strong Garrisons in *Crenis* and *Cronenburg*, and some other Places, to maintain the Communication with *Olmütz* and *Oglau*. Afterwards General *Torsten*son march'd towards *Bohemia*, whither the *Imperialists* follow'd him, that they might defend that Country as much as possible. From thence he sent *Koningsmark* into *Meravia*, to provide Necessaries for that Places in the Country. *Koningsmark*, in his return, took several Castles in *Silesia*, whither the *Swedish* Army came to join him; afterwards the *Swedes* return'd to *Bohemia*, and took their Quarters along the River *Eyer*.

Hitherto *Torsten*son supported the Weight of the Affairs of *Germany* with a great deal of Glory and Reputation; but finding himself more and more afflicted with the Gout, which made him lose many Opportunities of annoying his Enemies, he quitted the Command of the Army, and came to *Leipsick*, in Expectation of finding there some Ease of his Pain. They expected in his Place *Charles Gustavus Vrangle*, who was to come with a considerable Reinforcement from *Holsace*. The same Year the Arms of *France* had a very different Success in *Germany*; for *Turenne* receiv'd a considerable Check near *Margentheim*, from the Troops of *Bavaria*, who march'd with all Diligence to Attack him when he thought himself most secure; insomuch that he was forc'd to retire into the Country of *Hesse*, where the Troops of the *Landgrave* and *Koningsmark* cover'd him from the pursuit of the Enemy, until the Prince of *Conde*, then Duke of *Enguien*, join'd him with

with a considerable Reinforcement. Soon after, these Two Generals return'd into *Swabia*, and once more engag'd the Army of *Bavaria*. In this Battle it's true the *French* were Masters of the Field, yet the loss appear'd to be Equal on both Sides: But afterwards, when the Archduke *Leopold* came with Succours to the *Bavarians*, *Turenne* was fain to repass the *Rhine* with all Diligence, and hardly without running the Risque of a very severe Check.

As for the *Turks*, they now suddenly began the Famous *Candian War*; for on the last of *April* the Fleet, consisting of 73 Gallies, besides Three *Barbary* ones, Two Galleasses, one great Galleon, Ten Ships of *Alexandria*, Two of *Tunis*, and Ten of *English* and *Dutch*, which coming to *Constantinople* for Trade, were pressed to the Service, with about 300 Saicks and Caramussals, that carried Soldiers, Provisions, &c. set Sail. The Army was 7000 Janizaries, 14000 Saphies, and about 50000 Timariots, and other Soldiers, with about 3000 Pioneers. They arrived at *Scio* the Seventh of *May*, from whence they soon sailed, met with some stormy Weather, and steered different Courses, sometime by Way of Amusement, till the War was declared at *Constantinople*, by Imprisoning the *Bailo*, and giving Orders through all the *Archipelago* to destroy and enslave all the Subjects of the Republick, who were not altogether unprovided of a Fleet at Sea; and extraordinary Provedirors were sent to *Candia*, *Cerigo* and *Tino*, as places most feared to be in Danger, as also Orders dispatched to *Cornaro*, then General and Inquisitor in *Candia*, to fit out Twenty Gallies from the *Arsenal* of *Canea*, who took all the Care he could to put the Island in a Posture of Defence. On the 13th of *June* the whole *Turkish* Fleet appeared near *Cape Spada*, in the Form of a Half Moon, and at length the lightest Vessels began to edge in with the Bank of *Gonga*, a Place about Twelve Miles from *Canea*, and were soon followed by the larger Ships, who here took Livery, and seizing of the Flourishing Isle of *Candia* where they Encamped a while to refresh their Troops, and prepare all Things in order to their Conquest,

1645. wherein they should not have found it so easie if there had been any Unanimity between the Christians for the Succour of it; yet tho' the *Turks* overthrew the Christians in several small Skirmishes, and afterwards forced *Canca*, the Second City of that Island, they could not take it without spilling a great deal of their own Blood, as well as that of the Christians. But yet their successful Progress the first Year, to take one of the considerablest Cities, put Courage in them to proceed with their Conquests, wherein they had now the good Fortune to make themselves Masters of *Retino*, where General *Cornaro* lost his Life by a Musket Ball. Nor were the *Venetians* this Year more successful at Sea; for what with their Coldness and Negligence in this Affair, they suffered the *Turkish* Vessels to pass freely; nor was the Opportunity which offered it self to ruin the *Turkish* Fleet, then lying half disarmed and ill provided, at the Isle of *St. Theodore*, opposite to *Canca*, made use of, where it is thought they might easily have burned them; so that towards the latter end of the Year, General *Molino* returning Home, was dismisst from his Employment, and *Capello* constituted General in his Place.

If from *Candia* we Sail through the *Mediterranean* into *Spain*, there the War was still hot against *Portugal*, where King *John* having regard to the good Services done by the Earl of *Castello Melhor*, in the Province between *Duero* and *Minho*, appointed him General of *Alentejo*. In *April* he took Possession of that Command, and at the same time received Intelligence that the Marquess *de Leganez* was come to *Badajoz* to command the *Spanish* Army. Soon after the Count's Arrival on the Frontiers, 500 *Spanish* Horse made an Incurfion into the Territory of *Campo Mayor*, whence they retired with great Booty. In their Retreat the Two Captains, *Emanuel de Gama Lobo*, and *D. Charles Jordano*, charged them with 300 *Portugueze* Horse, recovered the Prey, and took from them Twenty Horses. The Count *de Castello Melhor* presently after attempted to drive the Enemy from about *Badajoz*, and to that Purpose marched with 800 Horse, and 1500 Foot, but returned without doing any thing more than driving the Enemies

Enemies advanced Parties to the Walls of *Badajoz*. In return, the *Spaniards*, with a Body of 700 Horse, fell into the Country of *Barbacena* and *Sancta Olaya*, which is Two Leagues from *Elvas* and *Campo Mayor*, the Horse of both which Places, to the Number of 500 joining, charged them in their Retreat, recovered all the Booty, and took 60 of their Horses. The Count *de Castello Melbor* having thoroughly examined the Strength of *Badajoz*, thought to have surprized that Place, and in order to it marched with 5500 Foot, and 1200 Horse, Two Petards, and Eight Pieces of Cannon; which last being useless for a Surprize, were the Cause he failed of his Design; for the Carriages breaking by the Way, (as was thought rather through the Malice of those who had them in Charge than neglect) so much time was spent in fixing them again, that it was Day before he could reach the Fort of *Telana*, which being a League from the City, he was forced to return, without attempting any thing, to *Elvas*.

The King having certain Intelligence that the *Spanish* Army daily increased at *Badajoz*, gave out all the necessary Orders for his Troops to Rendezvous at *Elvas*; and to be himself the more at Hand, went over to *Aldea Gallega*, which was the Cause that many of the Nobility and Gentry repaired to the Army. On the 25th Day of *October* the Marquess *de Leganez* marched from *Badajoz* with 12000 Foot, 3000 Horse, 10 Pieces of Cannon, and a Train proportionable, and halted in sight of the Bridge *Olivenza* and Fort St. *Anthony*. In Two Days he took the said Fort, and another at the Foot of the Bridge, both which he demolished, and broke several Arches of the Bridge, to cut off the Communication of *Olivenza*. Whilst the *Spaniards* were busie at this Work, a Party of 600 of their Horse, meeting 400 of the *Portuguese* Foot, under the Command of Major *John de Fonseca Barreta*, within Two Leagues of *Estremoz*, cut most of them off, the Major being the first that fled: Whereas he might have easily drawn his Men within an Inclosure which was by, and have thereby secured them against any Horse. The King

The Spaniards on the Portuguese Frontiers.

1645. King of the *Maldivia* Islands in *India*, being now come to *Portugal* to crave Aid of the King against a Brother who had Usurped the Crown, serv'd in the Army this Campaign, and was treated with all imaginable Respect. Count *Castello Melhor*, having drawn together all the Force he could, and yet being inferiour to the Enemy, kept himself still within the Olive-Gardens at *Elvas*, but continually sent out Parties to Alarm the Enemy. *D. Roderick de Castro* with 1000 Horse, and 500 Musketeers, sustaining one of those Parties, the Enemy Charged it, and pursuing too far, he cut off 90 of their Horse. Another of his Parties, being beyond *Badajoz*, took the Count *de Izinguen*, who came to be Lieutenant-General of Horse in the *Spanish* Army; and being sent to *Lisbon*, continued a long Time Prisoner in the Castle of *Belem*. The *Marquess de Leganez* having done nothing more than break the Bridge, and demolish the Two Forts, returned towards *Badajoz*, and in 12 Days erected a new Fort at *Telena*, near that City, destroying at the same Time a Tower, in which was an Ensign and 15 Men, a League from *Elvas*. This is all that was done of Moment, in the Province of *Alentejo*, and both Armies went into Winter-Quarters.

The War
betwixt
Duero and
Minho
and *Tralos*
Montes.

In the Province betwixt *Duero* and *Minho* there was no Memorable Action, only small Inroads made on both Sides: But the Province *Tralos Montes* enjoyed perfect Peace, both Parties lying still, each fearing to provoke the other. *D. Ferdinand Mascarenhas*, Count *de Serem*, governed *Beira*. At his first coming thither the *Spaniards* drove a Prey from about *Villa Tropim* and *Malpartida*, but Captain *Ruy Tavares de Brito* overtaking them with 100 Horse, recovered all, though at the cost of his own Life. Soon after the *Spaniards* laid Siege to *Salvaterra*, but without Success; for the Count having drawn together all the Force he could make to relieve it, and being reinforced from *Alentejo*, they broke up the Siege and departed. They being gone, the Count fortified the Frontier Places, and obliged the Country People to retire farther from the Borders, because he was inferiour to the Enemy in Forces.

As

As to the State of Affairs between the *Spaniards* 1645. and *French*, the former this Year lost *Rosès* in *Catalonia*, which was taken from them by the *Spaniards* Count *du Plessis Praslin*; after which happened *Losses.* the Battel of *Lorens*, wherein *Harcourt* overthrew them on the 21st of *July*, and killed 2000 Foot, with 120 Officers. This Loss was succeeded by the taking of *Balagnier* by the *French* on the 13th of *September*: They also secured *Barcelona* to themselves, by discovering a Plot of Eminent Persons of that Town, who intended to deliver it to the *Spaniards*. On the other side, the *French*, assisted by the *Dutch* Fleet, became Masters of the Fort of *Mardike* on the 10th of *July*. The Forts of *Link*, *Bourburg*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Armentiers* were likewise taken; after which the *French* joining with the Prince of *Orange*, assisted in the Conquest of the Country of *Waes*. But this was not all the Advantage they got; for they overthrew the Baron of *Beck*, General of the *Spanish* Troops, and took all the Towns that stand upon the *Lys*, and under the Conduct of *Gassion* routed *Feuensaldagne* and *Lamboy*. Indeed the *Spaniards* recovered somewhat of their Loss, by retaking *Mardike* with the Loss only of Twenty Men.

But a little to leave the Action of the Field, *Negotiations* and return to *Munster*, whither most of the Potentates of *Europe* sent their Plenipotentiaries, and *ons at* where *d' Avaux* and *Servient* appeared particularly *Munster.* for the *French*; we are here to observe, that the *French* being confederated with the *Swedes* and *Hollanders*, intended their Interests should be treated jointly; but the *Swedes* declared they would have nothing to do with *Spain*, and the *Hollanders* intended not to meddle with any thing that concerned the Empire: So that *France* was obliged to alter her Form of Proceedings, the Princes with whom she was to treat being divided into Two Classes, one of which included the *Swedes*, Emperor and Empire, the other the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards*; and the *Dutch* insisted upon a Truce only, and not a Peace. The *French* inclined to a Peace, as being adjudged to be best for them in the Present Conjunction; neither were the *Spaniards*,

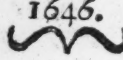
1645.

French
Proposals.Grotius's
Death.

as being weary of so many long and destructive Wars, less for it; but thinking to make their Terms the better, if they could break the Union between the *French* and *Dutch*, they endeavoured to make the Emperor treat with the *Hollanders* apart, not including the *French*; but the Queen of *Sweden* was more steady to her Confederate. In the first Proposals the *French* projected the King of *Spain* should no longer stile himself King of *Portugal*, nor of *Navarre*, nor Prince of *Catalonia*: That the Elector of *Treves* should be set at Liberty; and they, together with the *Swedens*, pretended that the Deputies of the Circles and States of the Empire should assist in the Assembly. The Emperor and *Spaniards* would not hearken to the Terms, and the last insisted upon the Restitution of all thar had been taken from them since the War; but the Emperor afterwards agreeing that the Elector should be restored to his Liberty and Estates, and that the States of the Empire might be called at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, the *French* put in their Proposals, importing, That all their Confederates should be satisfied, and have their Interests decided, together with those of the Crown: That for the Affairs of *Italy*, the *French* were ready to consent to what the Pope, *Venetians*, and other Potentates in that Country should agree to, so long as they should not be prejudicial to his most Christian Majesty; and that the Princes and States of the Empire and *Italy* should be Bound for the Security of these Treaties: And when they came farther to propose, in respect to the Empire, that they would have *Alsatia*, *Sangovia*, *Briscau*, the Four *Walstadt*s, or Forest Towns, *Brisac* and *Philipsburg*, but this only in Protection; the rest of the Plenipotentiaries were much amazed at it, and the *Swedens* themselves grew jealous; In which Disposition we must at present leave them; tho' we cannot conclude this Year without remarking the Death of the Learned *Hugo Grotius*, vulgarly *de Groot*, a Native of *Delph* in *Holland*, of one of the most Considerable Families of that Town. He was first Syndick of *Rotterdam*, which in 1613 he quitted for that of Advocate of the Treasury. By his siding with *Barneveldt*,

nevelt, whom he supported as well by his Writings as by his Reputation, he brought himself into great Troubles, and was Imprisoned in the Castle of *Lovestein*, from whence he made his Escape by a Stratagem of his Wife, *Mary Regersberg*, who having obtained leave to send away her Husband's Books in a large Chest, *Grotius* got into it, and so passing the Guards, he betook himself into the *Spanish Netherlands*, and from thence into *France*, and was there kindly entertained by *Lewis XIII.* He returned into *Holland* upon the Incouragement of *Frederick Henry*, Prince of *Orange*, but staid not long; for the States not thinking it convenient he should reside in his own Country, ordered his Departure, upon which he returned into *Sweden*, where Queen *Christina* employed him in Her most Important Affairs, and sent him her Ambassador into *France*: This Famous Man died at *Rostock* in *Meckelbourg*, leaving several Pieces behind him, well Known, and in great Estimation among Learned Men: He writ *de Veritate Christianæ Religionis* Lib. VI, *Mare liberum*, against *Selden's Mare Clausum*; *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, Lib. III. *De Antiquitate Reipublicæ, Batavica*: *De Imperio summarum Potestatum circa Sacra Com. Annales & Historiæ de Rebus Belgicis*; *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum & Longobardorum*. *Dissertatio de Origine Gentium Americanarum*: *De Satisfactione Christi, adversus Socinum*: *Apologeticus Poemata, Annotationes in totam Sacram Scripturam*, and his Epistles Printed in 1687.

The King's Affairs in *England* ended last Year but very Indifferently, and I doubt we shall not find them mended in this: The Prince had made the Lord *Hopton* Commander in Chief in the West, against whom *Fairfax* in *February* advanced to *Chimley*, within Eight Miles of *Torrington*, where *Hopton* was, with Six Thousand Foot, Three Thousand Five Hundred Horse, and Five Hundred Dragoons; which so near advance of the Enemy (notwithstanding all the strict Orders for keeping of Guards, whereof one was appointed to be within Two Miles of *Chimley*) he had not known, but by a Lieutenant who was accidentally plundering in those Parts, and fell amongst them, Upon which *Hopton* after some Deliberation resolved notwithstanding the great Disad-

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was in her Power to the King's Recovery. We may hear more of this Negotiation perhaps hereafter, for the present we are to take Notice that the King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons still in his Possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot as might enable him to take the Field early in the Spring, though without any fixed Design. But this was dash'd in the very beginning by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Astley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worcester* towards *Oxford* with Two Thousand Horse and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him with another Body of Fifteen Hundred Horse and Foot, Letters and Orders miscarried and were intercepted; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Resolution, and drew a much greater Strength from their several Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Evesham*. So that the Lord *Astley* was no sooner upon his march but Col. *Morgan* and Sir *William Brereton*, follow'd him; and the Second Day, after he had march'd all Night, when he thought he had escaped all their Quarters, fell upon his wearied Troops; which though a Bold and Stout Resistance was made, were at last totally defeated; and the Lord *Astley* himself, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant General of Horse, and most of the other Officers, who were not kill'd, were taken Prisoners. The few, who escaped, were so scatter'd and dispersed that they never came together again; nor did there remain from that Time any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field. During his Confinement, *Astley* did not scruple to tell the Parliament Officers, that now they had no hopes to prevail, unless it were by the others Divisions.

In the mean time the Prince of *Wales*, about the middle of *April*, leaves *Silly*, and goes for *Jersey*; from whence, after many Messages and Consultations he went at last for *France*, while the King himself resolved to go to the *Scotch* Army, and to that End early in the Morning, upon the 27th of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Ashburnham*, and a Divine, (one *Hudson*) who understood the By-ways, as well as the Common ones, and was indeed a very skilful Guide; leaving those
of

Newark
surrender'd.

The King
sends to
Montrose
to Disband.

of his Council there, who were privy to his going out not inform'd whether he would go to the Scots Army, or get privately into London, and lye there concealed till he might chuse that which was best: And it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himself at that Time a fixt Resolution what he would do; which was the more credited because it was Nine Days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where he was; insomuch as Fairfax who came before it the Fifth Day after his Majesty was gone, was late down, and had made his Circumvallation about Oxford before he knew that the King was in the Scots Army; but the King had wasted that Time in several Places; whereof some were Gentlemens Houses (where he was not unknown, though untaken Notice of) purposely to be inform'd of the Condition of the Marquiss of Montrose, and to find some secure Passage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly desire; but in the End he went into the Scots Army before Newark. They used him indifferently enough; he was soon necessitated to Order *Bellasis* to surrender Newark; and they prevailed with him to send his positive Orders to the Marquiss of Montrose, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and to leave the Kingdom; till when they pretended they could not declare for his Majesty: And this was done with so much earnestness, and by a particular Messenger known and trusted, that the Marquiss obeyed, and transported himself into France. Then they imployed Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, and their other Clergy, to perswade the King to consent to the Extirpation of Episcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and the French Ambassador by an Express quickly inform'd the Cardinal that the King was reserv'd in giving the Parliament Satisfaction; and therefore wished that Somebody might be sent over who was like to have so much Credit with his Majesty as to perswade him to what was necessary for his Service. Nay, the Queen in France consulted those about her; and sent Sir *William D'avenant* with a Letter of Credit to the King, to perswade him

to Part with the Church for Peace and Security, but all in vain.

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D'avenant had by the Countenance of the *French* Embassador easie Admission to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answer'd him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the Advice.

When the *Scots* had secured the Peace and Quiet of their own Country, by disbanding the Forces under *Montrose*, and putting to Death several Persons of Name who had follow'd the Marquiss, and had been taken Prisoners, and when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they could not, without a bare-faced Violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the Fundamental Principle of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their Hands, into the Hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and Consent: And when the Earl of *Lowden* had publicly declared to the Two Houses of Parliament in a Conference, 'that an
'Eternal Infamy would lye upon them, and the
'whole Nation, if they should deliver the King;
'the securing of which was equally their Duty,
'as it was the Parliaments, and the Disposal of
'his Person in Order to that Security did equally
'belong to them as to the Parliament; however
'they said, 'they would use all the Perswasion, and
'all the Importunity they could with the King, that
'his Majesty should yield and consent to the Proposi-
'tion the Parliament had sent to him. The Parli-
ament had, upon the first Notice of the King's being
arriv'd in the *Scots* Army, sent a positive Command
to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing in the
Scots Army, that the Person of the King should be
forthwith sent to *Warwick* Castle; but the *Scots*, who
apprehended they could not be long without
such an Order, had within Two Days after
his Majesties coming to them, and after he had
caused *Newark* to be surrendred, marched towards
Newcastle, and arriv'd there before they receiv'd
that Order for sending his Majesty to *Warwick*;
which proceeding of theirs pleased his Majesty very
well, and perswaded him, that though they would
Q observe

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observe their own Method, they would, in the End, do somewhat for his Service.

The King, upon the Scots Desire, Orders Oxford and all his other Garrisons to Surrender.

Upon the receiving that Order they renew'd their Professions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought that since they had promised the King, before he left *Oxford*, to send Propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, if he refused to comply with them, to which they should perswade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they advised the King, and prevailed with him, to send Orders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make Conditions, and to surrender that Place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was, and all the Council) into the Hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a General Order (which they caused to be printed) that all Governours of any Garrisons for his Majesty should immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon Fair and Honourable Conditions, since his Majesty resolv'd in all things to be advised by his Parliament; and till this was done they said they could not declare themselves in that manner for his Majesties Service and Interest as they resolv'd to do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to serve the Parliament in such manner as they should direct, until the War should be ended; but that done, they had no more Obligations to the Parliament; and that when his Majesty had no more Forces on Foot, nor Garrisons which held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War was at an end, and then they could speak and expostulate with Freedom.

The Parliament, as the more expedite Way, send their Propositions to the King by Commissioners of both Houses, who had no other Authority, or Power than to demand a positive Answer from the King in Ten Days, and then to return. These Propositions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and the King made Answer, that he knew not what Answer to make to them, till he should be inform'd what Power or Authority

The Parliament sends Propositions of Peace to the King at Newcastle.

' rity they had left to him, and his Heirs, when
 ' he had given all that to them which they de-
 ' sired. He desired that he might be re-
 ' moved to some of his own Houses, and that he
 ' might reside there till, upon a Personal Treaty
 ' with his Parliament, such an Agreement
 ' might be established as the Kingdom might en-
 ' joy Peace and Happiness under it; which he
 ' was sure it could never do by the Concessions they
 ' proposed.

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 His Maje.
 lies An-
 swer.

The Scots, who were enough convinced that
 he could never be wrought upon to leave the Church;
 were as good as their Words to the Parliament,
 and used all the Importunity and Threats to his
 Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all:
 Though they confessed that the Propositions
 were higher in many Things than they approv'd of,
 yet they saw no other Means for him to close
 with his Parliament, than by granting what
 they required. The Chancellor of Scotland told
 him, that the Consequence of his Answer to the
 Propositions was as great as the Ruin or Pre-
 servation of his Crown or Kingdoms: That the
 Parliament after many Bloody Battles had got
 the Strong-holds and Forts of the King-
 dom into their Hands: That they had his
 Revenue, Excise, Assessments, Sequestrations, and
 Power to raise all the Men and Money of the
 Kingdom: That they had gained Victory over all;
 and that they had a strong Army to maintain it;
 so that they might do what they would with
 Church or State: That they desired neither him
 nor any of his Race longer to reign over them;
 and had sent these Propositions to his Majesty,
 without the granting whereof the Kingdom
 and his People could not be in Safety: That if
 he refused to assent, he would lose all his Friends
 in Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Coun-
 try; and that all England would join against
 him as one Man to process and depose him,
 and to set up another Government; and so
 that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, would
 agree to settle Religion and Peace without him, to
 the Ruin of his Majesty and his Posterity: And con-
 cluded,

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*His Majesty
sies Answer
to them.*

cluded, 'that if he left *England* he would not
'be admitted to come and reign in *Scotland*. And
it is very true that the General Assembly of the Kirk,
which was then sitting in *Scotland*, had petition'd
the Conservators of the Peace of the Kingdom,
'that if the King should refuse to give Satisfaction to
'his Parliament, he might not be permitted to come
'into *Scotland*. This kind of Argumentation did more
provoke than perswade the King; who told them
with great Resolution, 'that no Condition they
'could reduce him to could be half so Miserable
'and Grievous to him, as that which they would
'perswade him to reduce himself to; and there-
'fore bid them proceed their own Way; and
'that though they had all forsaken him, God had
'not.

The Parliament having receiv'd the King's An-
swer, required the *Scots* to quit the Kingdom, and
to deliver him to the Persons they should appoint
to receive him; who should attend upon his
Majesty from *Newcastle* to *Holmby*, a House of
his at a small distance from *Northampton*, a Town
and County of very Eminent Disaffection to the
King throughout the War; and declared 'that his
'Majesty should be treated, with respect to the
'Safety and Preservation of his Person, accord-
'ing to the Covenant: And that after his com-
'ing to *Holmby*, he should be attended by such
'as they should appoint; and that when the *Scots*
'were removed out of *England*, the Parliament
'would join with their Brethren of *Scotland* a-
'gain to perswade the King to pass the Propositi-
'ons; which if he refused to do, the House would
'do nothing that might break the Union of the
'Two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to pre-
'serve the same. Whereas the *Scots* now began
again to talk sturdily, and denied 'that the Parlia-
'ment of *England* had Power absolutely to dispose
'of the Person of the King without their Appro-
'bation; and the Parliament as loudly replied,
'that they had nothing to do in *England*, but
'to observe their Orders; and added such Threats
to their Reasons, as might let them see they
had a great Contempt of their Power, and would
exact

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The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

exact Obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these Discourses being only kept up till they could adjust all Accounts between them, they agreed upon the payment of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds in Hand, and Security for as much more upon Days agreed upon, to deliver the King up into such Hands as the Parliament appointed to receive him. In this manner this Prince was, in the End of *January*, given up by his *Scots* Subjects to those of his *English* who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to go to the Place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it self to go to *Newcastle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where and to whom his Majesty was deliver'd. They brought him to his own House at *Holmby* in *Northamptonshire*, a Place he had taken so much delight in: And there he was to stay till the Parliament and the Army should determine what should be farther done.

The King is brought to Holmby.

The King having been conducted to *Holmby* about the end of *January*, 1647, into which we have made an Excursion too soon, we are here to call to Mind, that whilst those Disputes continued between the Parliament and the *Scots* concerning the King's Person, the Army proceeded with great Success in reducing those Garrisons which still continued in his Majesties Obedience; whereof though some surrender'd more easily and with less resistance than they might have made, satisfying themselves with the King's General Order, and that there was no reasonable Expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss, by an early Submission, to obtain better Conditions for themselves; yet others defended themselves with notable Obstinacy to the last; but finally yielding, this gives us an Opportunity to take a View of the State of Affairs in other Parts of *Europe*, before we come again to prosecute our own Domestic Trouble and Divisions; and in the first Place we will see how Matters went with the *Swedes* once more at least in *Germany*.

Divers Garrisons Surrender'd to the Parliament.

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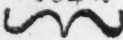
Vrangel
takes the
Command
of the Swe-
dish Army
in Germa-
ny.

In the beginning of the Year *Vrangel* took the Command of the *Swedish* Army as Generalissimo. The *Swedish* Troops then consisting of 15000 Horse, and 8000 Foot, all *Veterans*, and chosen Troops, besides the Garrisons and Flying Camps, under the Command of *Koningsmark*; for about that Time *Wittenberg* parted from *Silesia* to join the main Army. On the other Side, the Imperial Army, which was advancing towards the *Swedes*, consisted of 13000 Horse, and 11000 Foot, besides the 12 Regiments of Cavalry, and 12 of Infantry of the Troop of *Bavaria* that came to join them. The Enemy's Intention was to fall suddenly upon the *Swedish* Army, before *Koningsmark* could join it, or before the *French* could give them any Diversion upon the *Rhine*. But General *Vrangel* thought it not convenient to hazard a Battle (without Necessity) against an Enemy that was obliged to divide his Army; besides, the Places which he took in *Bohemia* was not in a Condition to afford him Provisions for any considerable Time; he Decamp'd seasonably, and return'd towards *Misnia*, where he dispers'd his Troops along the River *Sala*: But that he might not ravage too much the *Protestant States*, he march'd towards the *Weser*, to the End, that joining the *French*, he might be in a better Condition to Attack the Enemy with the greater Vigour, and particularly harraßs the *Bavarian* Troops; which might be of Consequence, as well for continuing the War, as procuring the Peace. And that the Emperor's Provinces might not be altogether exempted from the Inconveniencies of the War, he sent *Wittenberg* with some Troops into *Silesia*. General *Vrangel* leaving *Thuringia* in the beginning of April, in order to march towards the *Weser*, took *Hoxter*, *Paderborn*, and *Stadbergen*, with other little Places in that Neighbourhood. And General *Turrenne* having inform'd him, that he design'd to pass the *Rhine* at *Bacherat* in the beginning of June, that he might join the *Swedish* Army with the greater Security, *Vrangel* march'd towards the *Upper-Hesse*, and posted himself near *Wetzlar*, whither *Koningsmark* came to him, having taken *Bremeneuerde* and *Leingan* in his Way. But *Turenne* having

having fail'd in his Promise, *Vrangel* was reduc'd to a very perplex'd State, in regard that the Enemy advanc'd against him with all their Forces: For if he had not rely'd upon the *French* Promises, he could have employ'd his Time much more securely and advantageously in *Westphalia*. However he thought it not convenient to return thither, lest he might expose the Princes of *Hesse-Cassel* to the Discretion of the Enemy, and therefore resolv'd to encamp near *Amentburg*, that from thence he might the better observe the Design and Countenance of the Enemy, until the *French* shou'd draw near him. In the mean Time the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians* march'd on giving out that their Army was Thirty Thousand Men strong: Besides that, *Melander*, otherwise call'd *Holtsapffel*, had join'd against them. saying, that he would once more venture his Gray Head against the *Swedes*. The Enemies had the greater Hopes of Ruining the *Swedish* Army because *Torsten*son was not there, thinking always the absence of that General was of greater Importance to the *Swedes* than Ten Thousand Men: For besides his Extraordinary Conduct in other Affairs, he knew always how to do them a great deal of Mischief with his Artillery, Thus the *Imperial* Army Posted themselves within half a League of the *Swedes*, upon a rising Ground, whence they could see into their Camp. The next Day there happen'd a severe Skirmish betwixt the *Swedes* and *Bavarian* Troops, in which the latter suffer'd very much. It's certain that the *Imperialists* design'd to cut off the *Swedes* from their Provisions, and hinder their joining with *Turenne's* Army; but they failed in both their Projects: For the *Swedish* Army was sufficiently provided from *Cassel*; whereas the Bread which was brought from *Franconia* to the *Imperialists* was altogether Mouldy. by Reason of the great Heat and far Carriage; insomuch that the Infantry were extream Faint; and even the Cavalry suffer'd sufficiently upon the high Hill for want of Water and Forrage. Upon which account the *Imperialists*, to avoid all Inconveniences, were con-

Skirmish
between the
Swedes
and Bava-
rians.

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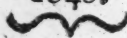
 strain'd to retire, after having lost above Four Thousand Men, and a great many Horses. In time, *Turenne* having join'd *Vrangel's* Army in the Neighbourhood of *Gieffen*, they march'd both towards the Enemy, that was encamp'd near the Convent of *Ilmstadt*, with a Design to give them Battle: But these Two Generals seeing that the *Imperialists* durst not appear, they resolv'd to pass along the left of their Camp, and hinder their Communication with the Towns of *Francfort*, *Hanau*, and the River *Mein*. And in effect their Enterprize succeeded so happily, that they cut in pieces a Detachment of Five Hundred Horses, who went to dispute with them the Passage of the *Nidda*; and by these Means they pillag'd all the Magazines which the Enemy had along that River. They sent *Koningmark* with some Troops to *Gern Huisen*, in order to hinder them from passing to the Right near *Vogelberg*; insomuch that the *Imperialists* found themselves reduc'd to such Straits, that they were forc'd to return with all Diligence in the Night-time towards the River *Laine*. But the *Swedes* thought it not convenient to follow them into a Country exhausted of all things, and therefore march'd, without any Opposition, towards the *Danube*, and defeated near *Donawert* a Party of Eight Hundred of the *Bavarian* Cavalry, who design'd to burn a Bridge upon that River. Having afterwards pass'd the *Lech* near *Oberendorf*, they carried the Town of *Rain* with little Opposition. After which they came before *Augsburg*, that wou'd have proved of great Consequence to them in order to bridle *Bavaria* and *Suabia*. At first sight the Inhabitants seem'd as if they meant to receive a *Swedish* Garrison; but as soon as Fifteen Hundred Soldiers were enter'd from different Quarters, they began to put themselves in a posture of Defence. The *Swedes* and *French* fail'd in nothing that was possible for them to do to gain the Place, insomuch that they were advanc'd into the Ditch, and had already undermin'd a Bastion, so that they were just ready to make a general Assault in order to oblige the besieged to surrender: But the *Imperialists* coming in in the mean Time, threw powerful

Swedes be-
 siege Auf-
 burg in
 vain.

ful Succours into the Place, by a certain Passage which was impossible for the Allies to block up, upon which raising the Siege they took their march towards *Lauringen* to secure themselves of the Passage of the *Danube*. On the other Hand, the Enemies pass'd from *Bavaria* into *Suabia*, and posted themselves behind *Memingen* and the *Iller*. But the *Germans* having by that March left them open Passage to enter into *Bavaria*, the Allies pass'd the *Lech* at *Lendsberg*, and hinder'd them for some Time from coming into their own Country; until at last having hover'd a long Time, they pass'd the *Lech*, near the Cloyster of *Dierboofd*, having lost a great many Men in their hasty march. General *Vrangal* was very desirous to penetrate further into *Bavaria*, and pass'd the *Iser* near *Trisingen*, to the end they might exhaust the Country with the Two Parties, but the *French* refus'd to follow him; for indeed during the whole Course of the War they entertain'd a Secret Correspondence with the *Bavarians*, nor ever would they fall upon them vigorously. Besides, they pretended for an Excuse the Negotiation that was afoot for a Truce. Moreoever the *French* never design'd to oppose the Enemy to that Degree that the *Swedes* might be in a Condition to subsist without their Assistance: And tho' they never meant to reduce them intirely, nevertheless they abandon'd them when they seem'd to be any Way uppish, to the end that they might keep them always in a middle State. Thus the Allies left *Bavaria*, (having first ravag'd all the Country) and went into Winter-Quarters in *Suabia*. *Turenne* seiz'd the Places along the *Danube*; and *Vrangle* took up the Country that extends towards the *Bodensia*. However, they entred once more by *Rain* into *Bavaria*, where they defeated Two Thousand Horse near *Bruckheim*. About the latter end of the same Year *Vrangal* very fortunately carried a strong Place near *Bregentz*; in which there were Six Thousand Country-men to defend it: Besides, he took the Castle of *Pannenberg*, which is very near it. The *Swedes* got very Rich Booty in *Bregentz*.

While

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While the Main Body of the *Swedish* Army made such Progress in that Part of *Germany*, the *Imperialists* had the Opportunity of retaking a great many Places in the Emperor's Hereditary Provinces, such as *Terschen*, *Cornenburg*, *Crems*, *Frunkestein* and *Nicolasburg*, with many other Places where the *Swedes* had Garrisons in *Austria*. But to the end that these Countries should not be exempted from the Charges of the War, General *Vrangel* sent *Wittenberg* into *Silesia*, with a Detachment of Five Thousand Men. Having taken the Town of *Wittenberg*, he retir'd for a while into the *Lower-Silesia*, where he waited for a Reinforcement of Four Thousand Men who were to come to him from *Sweden*. After which he attack'd the *Imperialists*, and forc'd them to retire. He afterwards enter'd into the *Upper-Silesia*, *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and defeated the Enemies in divers Rencounters.

French
take Dun-
kirk, &c.

Having briefly intermixed some Adventures of the *French* amongst the *Swedes*, if we inspect their Affairs in other Parts we find the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Enghien*, who commanded their Forces on the Side of *Flanders*, laid Siege to *Courtary*, and after some hot Dispute forced it to yield upon Articles on the 20th of *June*, in sight of the Duke of *Lorain* and *Piccolomini* who were come to relieve it. This surrendry was followed by that of *Berque St Vinock*, by the Castle of *Mardike*, which the *French* took the 2d Time on the 24th of *August*, and by *Furness*, which yielded on the 6th of *September*; and finally, by *Dunkirk*, which *Enghien* besieged by Land, whilst the *Dutch* under the Command of Admiral *Trump* blocked it up by Sea: The Siege lasted only Three Weeks, and the Capitulation was signed on the 10th of *October*. The *Spaniards* were in some Measure comforted for so many Losses by the raising of the Siege of *Lerida* in *Catalonia*, and driving *Harcourt* from thence: But they had not the same Success before *Orbitelle* upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*; the *Spaniards* endeavouring to relieve it by their Naval Forces, were defeated by the Duke of *Breze*, who commanded the *French* Fleet, and was killed with a Cannon-ball, while he was too hastily pursuing his Victory; but

but Prince Thomas of Savoy was so far from receiving any Benefit from this Victory, that he was forced to raise the Siege. However, the Marefchals of Meilleray and Pralin took off the Disgrace of this ill Success, by taking the Towns of Piombini on the 8th of October, and of Portolongo in the Isle of Elbe on the 29th of the same Month.

The French now spoke high at the Treaty of Munster, being much elated with the Prosperities of their own Arms, and those of their Confederates the Swedes who had been attended with many successes; so that many Altercations happened between them and the Spaniards more particularly: But tho' they imagined the Dutch would by no Terms disunite from them, yet their Plenipotentiaries insinuated to those of Spain, (between whom by this Time there was some tolerable Understanding) that the French Averseness to Peace was the only Occasion of retarding the Agreement: But before they would come to an entire Conclusion with them, they made new Offers to the French in the Spaniards Name, of the County of Roussillon, of a Truce for 30 Years in Catalonia, of all the Towns taken in the Low-Countries and Burgundy, and of the Recipocal Restitution of all that they held in Italy appertaining to the Dukes of Savoy and Mantua, to all which Pignoranda, the Spanish Plenipotentiary, agreed, the Promise being kept, which as he alledged was made by the French, that nothing should be said of Portugal; that the Duke of Lorain should be satisfied, as also the Emperor and the Empire. Two of their Deputies went to signify this to the French Agents at Osnaburg, who were there to forward the Treaties with the Emperor and the Empire in Conjunction with the Swedes, and to the Exclusion of the Spaniards: They thought things were now in such a Disposition as to hope for a speedy Peace; but upon their return to Munster, the French pretended that Roses and Cadaches were comprehended in the County of Roussillon, and not in Catalonia; and afterwards they presented another Writing, importing that a Proviso must be made that Casal must never return to any of the House of Austria; that the Portion


of

1645. of the *Infanta Donna Catherina* of *Savoy* should be observed and maintained by Arms; that the *Grifons* and *Valtolines* should return to the Condition they were in in 1617. That *Don Duarte* of *Portugal* should be set at Liberty before the Treaty was ratified; that all the Goods formerly belonging to the House of *Aquavia* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, confiscated by *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, should be restored to *Seignior de Angliere*, the pretended Duke of *Atria*; and that the Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Navarr* should be reserved to the King of *France*, notwithstanding the Peace. Some Disputes arose hereupon, and the *Spaniards* said they were new Additions; but for all that, they were contended they should be decided by the Mediators, by whom at last they were adjudged and in this State we shall at Present leave 'em.

As for the State of Things between *Spain* and *Portugal*, to say nothing of the Inroads made on either Side, the *Portugueze* resolv'd to attempt the taking of *Codisseira*. The Count *de Alegrette* knowing it was difficult to carry it by open Force and a Siege, concluded upon a Surprize. Having chosen 600 Foot, and some Troops of Horse, backed by a good Number of Volunteers, and provided Scaling Ladders, Petards, and all other Necessaries, he marched by the Way of *Portalegre* and *Rivas* to *Aronches*, where he was reinforced by other Troops and Volunteers, with which Forces he posted himself within a League of the Place. There he halted till Night, having secured all the Men he met by the Way, that none might carry Intelligence to the Enemy. His eagerness made him think it dark enough sooner than really it was, and therefore approaching the Place whilst yet some glimmering of Light was abroad, he was discovered at a distance by a Sharp-sighted Sentinel, who giving the Alarm in the Town, was soon answered by the Castle; in both which Places as well the Inhabitants as Soldiers ran to the Walls, and put themselves in a posture of Defence. Notwithstanding all the Opposition made from the Walls, the *Portugueze* boldly made up to the Gate, and fired the Petards at the Town and Castle Gates, which were torn in pieces, and they entring put to the Sword all the

they found in Arms. D. John de Guevara was retired into the great Market-place with many of his Officers, hoping there to maintain his Honour; but the Harm they did among the Portuguese enraged them the more, so that they were scarce satished to disarm and make them Prisoners of War. The Danger being over, they fell to plundering the Town, and not so content, set Fire to it, reducing to Ashes the Place they designed to have maintained. This Success made the Victors think of attempting *Badajoz*, tho' they came of here but bluely. On the other Side the Spanish Army growing to the Number of 10000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, on the 20th of November undertook the Siege of *Salvaterre*, and pressed it so vigorously, that they soon lodged themselves upon the Ditch, and had begun to Mine, hoping in few Days to carry the Place. But understanding that all the Forces of the Province of *Beira*, were marching with all possible speed to the Relief of it they raised the Siege with such Precipitation, that they left behind them much Provision, Ammunition, their Baracks and about 300 Sick and Lame Soldiers.

In this Place it will not be amiss to relate the end of the Misfortune befallen to *Edward*, Brother to King *John*. He was taken in *Germany*, where he served the Emperor, and delivered up to the Ministers of *Spain* as guilty of being privy to the Revolt of *Portugal*. It was laid to his Charge, that being a Subject of the King of *Spain*, he had discovered to him the designed Revolt of that Kingdom. On this Account he was put into the Castle of *Milan*, where he was kept, with Guards upon him in the very Room, all his own Servants being removed from him upon Suspicion that they contrived his Escape. The Governour of the Castle imagining that his Confessor, who was a Jesuit, might have a Hand in that Contrivance, sent him word to chose another; so it were a Subject of the King of *Spain*, and no Jesuit; letting him also know that every now and then he must Change his Confessor. This Message being delivered by the Lieutenant of the Castle, D. *Edward* broke out into a Passion, which he had never done

1646.  done before, and among many other rash Expressions said *His Comfort was, that he suffered for the King his Brother, for his Family and Country for which he was willing to lay down his Life.* This the Lieutenant deposed against him; and several Soldiers also testified, that being upon his Guard they they had heard him drink a Health to the King his Brother. The Governour having taken those Depositions, there came a Commission from *Spain*, appointing Three Judges to try him, and again examined all the Witnesses; then they proceeded to examine the Prisoner himself, who being asked what he knew of the Design of revolting in *Portugal*, utterly denied he had any knowledge of it, but unadvisedly in his Discourse added, that being at *Lisbon*, *F. Bartholomew Guerreiro*, a Jesuit, had told him, that many *Sebastianists* (so they called those affected to the Line of *Braganza*) desired him not to depart *Portugal*, because they thought his Presence necessary for carrying on their Designs; that nevertheless he would not see any of them, but went away for *Germany*. Next they asked him whether he had given the King (meaning the Catholick King) an Account of those Words; he said he had not, as making no Account of them, but had immediately departed the Kingdom. They also put Questions to him about the Healths he had drunk, and the Words he spoke upon the changing his Confessor, but they had laid the chief Stress on the Words spoke by *F. Guerreiro*, and his not discovering them to the King, for which they pretended he was guilty of High-Treason, and consequently deserved Death. *D. Edward* pleaded that he being a Knight of the Military Order of *Christ*, the Judgment of Secular Judges against him was void. To this they answered, that in Cases of High-Treason those Priviledges ceased; besides, that, Two of the Judges were also Knights of Military Orders. Death put an end to this Controversie, for the Prisoner falling Sick, either through his long Suffering, or some other Cause, put the same Period to his Life and Imprisonment.

In the mean time, while for the better Settlement of the Affairs of the Nation, then in some Disorder, through the long continuance of the War, the King had summoned the Cortes or Parliament to meet in the Close of the foregoing Year; they being accordingly assembled, redressed many Grievances, occasion'd by the Army; ordered, that for defence of the Frontiers there should be kept in Pay 16000 Foot and 4000 Horse, and as well for the Payment of them, as other Expences of the War assigned 2150000, Cruzados, which in *English Money* is 286666 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* allowing 3000 *Reis* to the Pound, according to the common Computation, with which we conclude this Third Volume.

1646.

*The Cortes
or Parlia-
ment meets:*

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